

William James as Sage *Joseph Featherstone*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

October 14, 1967, 35 cents

The NLF'S Terms for Peace

George McT. Kahin

Looking Toward 1968

Convention in California
Draft-Kennedy Conclave
Writing the Platform

NEWSPAPER

05401

BURLINGTON VT

UNIV OF VT

CUV M BAILEY

NR BLS

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG

ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POSTERS OF THE PAST

Rare American posters reproduced exactly. New look for home, office, den, school. Exceptional values.

K1—TELEPHONE HANDBILL—"Prof. Bell speaks and sings"—1877 exhibition of telephone, rare. 25c	R29—SLAVE SALE POSTER—descriptions—19 x 12 1/2 50c	360—MATRIMONIAL MOOD CHART GUIDE for servants; old, humorous 25c
K2—CONFEDERATE SHEET MUSIC—Gen. Morgan Grand March, Richmond, 1864, 4 pages, illustrated 50c	R30—SLAVE SALE POSTER—25 Negroes described 40c	361—WELLS, FARGO CHECKS, Carson & Va. City 15c
K4—LINCOLN CAMPAIGN POSTER—In vivid color; pictures of Lincoln and Johnson, rarity; colorful 85c	R32—LINCOLN ELECTION POSTER—19 x 11—believe it or not, speech by V. Pres. Stephens, Confederacy—boomerang—N.Y. printed—interesting, unknown 50c	362—HANDBILL—Clark auto—1910—illustrated 25c
K5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—1st Regt.—bounties—illustrations 17 x 11 limited 50c	C1—PLAYBILL—1st Gilbert & Sullivan Amer. performance 1879, Pirates Penzance, rare 35c	363—HANDBILL—Parry auto—1910—illustrated 25c
K6—NEGRO SLAVE SALE NOTICE—description, each slave, New Orleans 1835 50c	C2—HORSE MATING POSTER, picture, description, fees, unique 25c	364—HANDBILL—Cadillac auto—1910—illus. 25c
K7—JESSE JAMES; full length poster; James, horse, reward notice; 19 x 14 75c	C3—LINCOLN LIQUOR LICENSE, 1833, Salem, Tavern, liquor food prices, Lincoln's handwriting illustrations, large size, rare 60c	365—HANDBILL—Jackson auto—1910—illustrated 25c
K8—CIVIL WAR ARMY DISCHARGE—signed by Lincoln and Stanton, illustrated; form of large diploma; volunteers that helped Sherman; most unusual \$1	C4—N.Y. STAGECOACH POSTER, horses, coach illus. 40c	366—HANDBILL—Circus, illustrated, bike on wire 25c
K9—FASHION POSTER; 60 illustrations; 1896 fantastic styles; ladies clothes... 22 x 16 75c	C5—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—Brooklyn 40c	367—CARTOON—1906—predicts Sunday everyone busy auto repairs, illustrated 25c
K11—FORD'S AUTO POSTER—early illustrations, prices 50c	C6—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—1777—Phila.—English want sailors 35c	368—HANDBILL—Flanders auto—1910—illus. 25c
P1—REVOLUTIONARY WAR RECRUITING POSTER, Call to arms by Geo. Washington, illustrated 50c	C7—AMER. REVOLUTION PROCLAMATION—Phila.—Howe orders 8 P.M. curfew 25c	369—HANDBILL—Ford—1905—illustrated 25c
P2—OLD CALIFORNIA TRAVEL POSTER; stagecoach, illustrated, fares, destination, unique 50c	C8—AMER. REVOLUTION RECRUITING POSTER—Phila.—English want "Rangers" 14 x 13 40c	370—HANDBILL—Stevens—Duryea auto—illus. 25c
P3—MURDERER OF LINCOLN—\$100,000 REWARD 50c	C9—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING FOR home guard 25c	371—HANDBILL—White auto—1912—quaint illus. 25c
P4—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING; Calvary "not to be sent at once into field" 25c	C10—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—orders accept Continental money; help with fires; help build fortifications—1776—24x19—rare American orders \$1	372—HANDBILL—Chalmers auto—1911—illus. 25c
P5—TRAVEL POSTER; Steamboat to gold mines of WEST; illustration... 22 1/2 x 10 1/2 50c	C11—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—Chimney sweeps 25c	373—HANDBILL—Winton auto—1912—illustrated 25c
P7—NECK-TIE PARTY. Lists bad men at Las Vegas, 1881 50c	C12—AMER. REVOLUTION POSTER—Howe tells Americans cannot buy certain foods; need permit for medicine; 18 x 14—unusual, rare 50c	374—HANDBILL—Pope auto—1905—illustrated 25c
P8—TEXAS POSTERS; one 1867 seeks horse thief; one 1853 for murderer; both 60c	C14—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER... 15 x 14—Hempstead, N.Y.—unusual appeal 35c	375—HANDBILL—Ford auto—5 models— from \$260 25c
P9—U.S. REWARD POSTER; Sam and Belle Starr, dead or alive, unique, Federal Gov't. want 25c	C16—JACKSON PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, illustrated 40c	376—GEORGE WASHINGTON—1791—silhouette from life, rare 25c
P10—DALTON GANG REWARD POSTER—Bob, Emmet, Grat Dalton 25c	C17—SLAVE AUCTION—1859 N. C. "owner to reside in NORTH" 35c	377—MARTHA WASHINGTON—1791—silhouette from life, rare 25c
P11—JESSE JAMES REWARD POSTER—picture Jesse 25c	C19—TAYLOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION HANDBILL, ballad 25c	378—MATADOR, Bullfight, in full colors, 15 1/4 x 11 1/2 75c
P12—CONFEDERATE STATES ARMY, NAVY UNIFORMS, 12 prints, 37 different uniforms, the rare official 1861 set of 12 prints \$1	C20—RUNAWAY SLAVE POSTER—Reward, 1853 25c	379—ENLISTMENT POSTER—1777—Amer. Rev. 30c
P15—CALIF. BLACK BART POSTERS; Bart left poems at Stagecoach hold-ups. Poster with poems 17 x 11... set of 3 posters 75c	C23—THEATRICAL POSTER, Joe Jefferson 25c	380—ENLISTMENT POSTER—Revolution, British ask 'serve during rebellion' 30c
P33—PLAYBILL—SAN FRANCISCO MINSTRELS 35c	C25—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—tells Washington attack anticipated, Eagle illus. 35c	381—GATLING GUN POSTER—illustration, comp. 20c
P35—PLAYBILL—ROMEO AND JULIET, 1767, N.Y. 35c	C27—1870—MENU with prices, steak 15c 10c	382—LADIES CORSET ADVERTISEMENTS, illustrated, now funny, once serious 25c
P36—LINCOLN READING BIBLE TO HIS SON; 1865 25c	C28—MEDICAL BROADSIDE—1st medical announcement in America 1677—symptoms, remedies—quaint, rare... 17 x 11 \$1	383—TAVERN POSTER—1760—prices fixed by Court 30c
P37—GUN PRINTS; Set of 5 prints 50c	C29—PONY EXPRESS POSTER—illustrated, rates 35c	384—CIVIL WAR POSTER—1863—gives prices farmers must accept from Army 25c
P38—JESUS, portrait formed out of Scripture writing; Unusual oddity 25c	C30—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER—TEXAS 1861—rare 40c	385—LINCOLN STATEMENT—1843—says Congress cannot interfere with slavery 30c
P39—BARNUM CIRCUS; illustrated program, 1876, scarce 25 1/2 x 5 50c	C31—TEXAS PROCLAMATION—1861—"SHOULD TEXAS SECEDE?" 40c	386—HANDBILL—shows 4 negroes or 2 horses operate Cotton Press 30c
P40—PLAYBILL, NIGHT LINCOLN SHOT, FORD THEATRE, Apr. 4, 1865, the show Lincoln was watching when he was shot, historical and scarce 50c	C32—WELLS-FARGO RECEIPT FOR GOLD—unusual 15c	387—PRIVATEERS—instructions—signed J. Monroe, Scty of State 15c
P41—CIVIL WAR RECRUITING POSTER, appeal for Sharpshooters, 17 x 12, rare 60c	C33—ELECTION POSTER—HARRISON presidential, 1840, cider, log cabin 35c	388—REWARD POSTER 1797 1/2c Runaway Seaman 20c
P42—REGIMENTAL ORDERS—illustrated; old, Col. Sam Colt, 23 x 12 25c	C34—AMER. REVOLUTION NOTICE—"Cornwallis Retreating" 10c	389—OLD ADVERTISEMENT—Pneumatic Bust—illustrated (for women) 15c
D1—PHYSICIANS HANDBILL 1855; treats Cancer, many claims 25c	C35—REWARD POSTER Pinkerton for Perry "nerviest train robber" 25c	390—CARTER HANDBILL—uplifted skirt, risque for its time, humorous 15c
D2—EMMENAGOGUE HANDBILL—Full of claims, quaint, illustrated 25c	C36—VIGILANCE POSTER list of bad-men—1868 30c	391—CARTOON—1774—designed by B. Franklin, rare & interesting 30c
D3—PAPILLARY OIL. Cures sore nipples 5 days; testimonials, 1845 25c	C37—ADAMS EXPRESS POSTER, "ship gold" 30c	392—HANDBILL—1870—horses used for machine power, illustrated 20c
D4—HOME DENTAL OUTFIT—"Fill teeth yourself" with kit—1890 ad 20c	C38—BUFFALO BILL WILD WEST SHOW, illustrated 30c	393—FIRST US PATENT—1790—signed G. Wash. 20c
R1—BRITISH RECRUITING POSTER—American REVOLUTION—offers "50 acres where gallant hero may retire and enjoy his bottle and lass." Unusual, historical, Rare 65c	C39—RAILROAD POSTER—Wells-Fargo Coach 25c	394—AIRSHIP c 1850—illustration is fantastic prediction, crossing ocean 20c
R3—PENN. PROCLAMATION—1681 by King Charles—sets up colony "PENNSYLVANIA" orders obedience to Wm. Penn. Printed in England; 20 x 14, a state is born, rare \$1	C40—BATHING SUITS—1885—seashore styles 25c	395—PRIZE FIGHT—1886—woodcut J. L. Sullivan revives opponent 25c
R4—AMERICAN REVOLUTION ALERT—1776, warns Gen. Howe approaches, etc. 20 x 12, rare 35c	C41—AUTOMOBILE CLOTHING WORN in 1900—3 illustrated ads 25c	396—PHONOGRAPH POSTER—1899—Edison, 1st phonograph, 13 1/2 x 11, illustrated 40c
R5—AMERICAN REVOLUTION—1781—CORNWALLIS surrendered, orders orderly celebration—His Excellency Gen. Washington... 20 x 12 40c	C42—CALAMITY JANE POSTER—exhibition 20c	397—FOOTBALL POSTER—1880—quaint uniforms, rare, illustrations, 17 x 11 40c
R6—AMERICAN REV PLAYBILL—British Soldiers 50c	C43—REWARD POSTER—train robbers, murderers 25c	398—INDIAN illustrated ad of Sapollo, quickly civilizes Indians 20c
R7—AMERICAN REVOLUTION PLAYBILL—"Woman Keeps Secret" 40c	C44—ANNIE OAKLEY EXHIBITION POSTER—her picture, rifle, medals 35c	399—RIFLE HANDBILL, shoots 26 shots in 60 seconds, illustrated 20c
R8—AMERICAN REVOLUTION PLAYBILL—plus actual ticket very rare—soldier actors 75c	C45—REWARD POSTER—r. r. train robbers, loot 25c	400—REWARD POSTER—person attempted assassinate W. Seward, Scty State 25c
R9—MEMBERSHIP signed by Washington and Knox—ornate illustrated certificate. Society of Cincinnati, officers only of AMERICAN REVOLUTION. Cincinnati Ohio named for this society—"military mobility" opposed by Tammy, rare 20 x 14 \$1	C46—REWARD POSTER—Doolin, Dalton rob train 25c	401—MAGNA CARTA & complete translation \$1.50
R26—CONFEDERATE SOLDIERS PLAYING CARDS—primitive folk art illustrations of Conf. soldiers, used in Army, very rare, set of 35 for \$1	C47—REWARD POSTER—Robber killed engineer 25c	402—POSTER—1924—Paul Whiteman & George Gershwin give Concert 30c
R27—CIVIL WAR PATENT MEDICINE LABEL—diseases of camp life 10c	C48—REWARD POSTER—Tom Nixon, notorious Union Pacific R.R. robber 25c	403—EXHIBITION POSTER—1845—laughing gas demonstration 25c
R28—VICTORY NEWS BROADSIDE—REBELS FLEEING—Apr. 1865 35c	C49—BUFFALO BILL POSTER—11 illustrations, Indians, Badmen, a la TV 35c	404—FENCE WIRE POSTER, rare, historical 30c
	C50—INDIAN SQUAW POSTER—in full regalia 20c	405—LINCOLN & HAMLIN 1860 campaign ribbon, rare picture Lincoln 20c
	C51—PONY EXPRESS POST MARKS, details enlarged, flying pony 20c	406—LINCOLN's Letter to Mrs. Bixby, 1864 25c
	C52—SHOWBOAT HANDBILL—4 illustrated pages of exciting entertainment that floated into riverbank towns, Important Americana 75c	407—SHARPSHOOTERS—1861—scenes training Civil War, rifle used 25c
	C73—CIVIL WAR NEWS POSTER—1861—"Fort Sumter Surrenders"—full account 35c	408—MOVIE POSTER—"The Sheik" Rudolf Valentino, photos 85c
	C74—REWARD POSTER by Governor of Mo. for Jesse or Frank James or any of their gang... train was robbed, conductor killed, 1881... very scarce item 25c	409—HANDBILL 1843—shows costumes of seaman in play, unique 30c
	C75—APPEAL TO INDIANS—1681 by Wm. Penn 25c	410—ORDER 1864—Confederate, send slaves to work 30c
	C76—PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN HANDBILL—1880—Democrats—illustrated—imitates showboat poster and is humorous... rare 20c	411—HANDBILL—c. 1900—2 pictures—boys on pot—"I drink union beer & I drink scab beer"—odd & humorous appeal by Union 40c
	C77—CIVIL WAR CARTOON POSTER—Cavalry chases Jeff Davis, disguised as milkmaid. Laugh no matter what side you favor, 20 x 14 35c	412—RED AUTO HANDBILL—1907—illustrated 25c
		413—HANDBILL—Franklin-auto-air-cooled eng. 25c
		414—HANDBILL—St. Louis auto—illustrated 25c
		415—HANDBILL—Courier auto—illustrated 25c
		416—HANDBILL—Rambler—1907—illustrated 25c
		417—HANDBILL—man proposes to woman because served Beef Extract—illustrated, c. 1880 25c
		418—HANDBILL—Men's shirt collars—1851—illustrated, scarce 25c

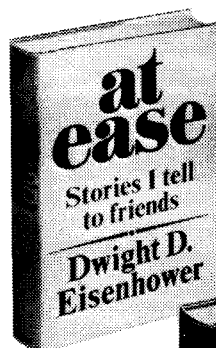
Minimum order \$2. Add 15c for mailing tube. 10c for catalog listing over 500 posters.

PIONEER HISTORICAL SOCIETY

DEPT. NR-2

HARRIMAN, TENN. 37748

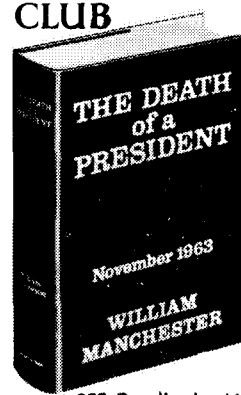
Catch up on your reading these coming months ...through a trial membership in the BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB



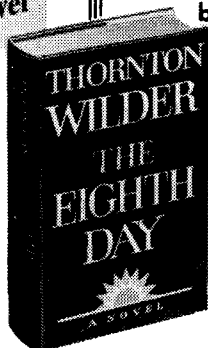
375. Retail price \$6.95

CHOOSE ANY THREE FOR ONLY \$1

THE SUGGESTED TRIAL: You simply agree to buy three additional books within a year



355. Retail price \$10



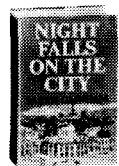
363. Retail price \$6.95



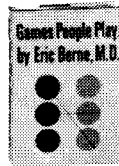
374. THE PLOT by IRVING WALLACE (Ret. price \$6.95)



235. THE SOURCE by JAMES A. MICHENER. Illus. (Ret. price \$7.95)



373. NIGHT FALLS ON THE CITY by SARAH GAINHAM (Ret. price \$6.95)



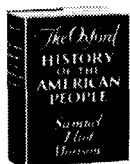
343. GAMES PEOPLE PLAY by ERIC BERNE, M.D. (Retail price \$5)



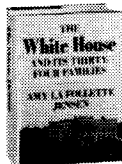
340. EVERYTHING BUT MONEY by SAM LEVENSON (Ret. price \$4.95)



116. DISRAELI by ROBERT BLAKE Illustrated (Ret. price \$12.50)



234. THE OXFORD HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE by SAMUEL ELIOT MORISON. Illus. (Ret. price \$12.50)



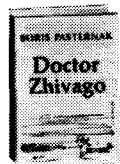
286. THE WHITE HOUSE AND ITS THIRTY-FOUR FAMILIES by AMY LA FOLLETTE JENSEN. Illus. (Ret. price \$12.50)



345. HANDS ON THE PAST: Pioneer Archaeologists Tell Their Own Story. Ed. by C. W. CERAM. Illus. (Ret. price \$8.95)



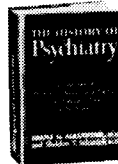
346. MADAME SARAH by CORNELIA OTIS SKINNER. Photos by C. W. CERAM. Illus. (Ret. price \$6.95)



102. DOCTOR ZHIVAGO by BORIS PASTERNAK (Ret. price \$5.95)



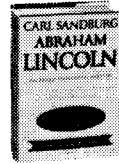
327. THE SECRET OF SANTA VITTORIA by ROBERT CRICHTON (Ret. price \$5.95)



329. THE HISTORY OF PSYCHIATRY by F. G. ALEXANDER, M.D. and S. T. SELESNICK, M.D. Illustrated (Ret. price \$11.95)



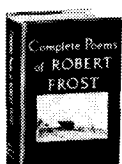
348. INSIDE SOUTH AMERICA by JOHN GUNTHER. Maps (Ret. price \$7.95)



448. ABRAHAM LINCOLN: The Prairie Years AND The War Years by CARL SANDBURG. 1-vol. edition. Illustrated (Ret. price \$7.50)



280. THE AGE OF VOLTAIRE by WILL and ARIEL DURANT. Illus. (Retail price \$12)



231. COMPLETE POEMS OF ROBERT FROST (Retail price \$8)



487. THE SHORT STORIES OF ERNEST HEMINGWAY (Retail price \$6)



185. STONEHENGE DECODED by GERALD S. HAWKINS with JOHN B. WHITE Illustrated (Ret. price \$5.95)



431. THE RISE AND FALL OF THE THIRD REICH by WILLIAM L. SHIRER (Ret. price \$12.50)



103. THE NEW ROGET'S THESAURUS IN DICTIONARY FORM Ed. by NORMAN LEWIS (Ret. price \$4.95)



152. BARTLETT'S FAMILIAR QUOTATIONS 13th edition (Retail price \$10)



377. MODERN AMERICAN USAGE A Guide by WILSON FOLLETT (Ret. price \$7.50)



161. JOY OF COOKING by ROMBAUER and BECKER. Illus. (Ret. price \$6.50)

BOOK-DIVIDENDS: A library-building plan every reading family should know about

THE EXPERIMENTAL MEMBERSHIP suggested here will not only prove, by your own actual experience, how effectually membership in the Book-of-the-Month Club can keep you from missing, through oversight or over-busyness, books you fully intend to read; it will also demonstrate another important advantage: Book-Dividends. Through this unique profit-sharing system members can regularly receive valuable library volumes—at a small fraction of their retail prices—simply by buying books they would buy anyway.

If you continue after this experimental membership, you will earn, for

every Club Selection or Alternate you buy, a Book-Dividend Credit. Each Credit, upon payment of a nominal sum, often only \$1.00 or \$1.50—somewhat more for unusually expensive volumes—will entitle you to a valuable Book-Dividend which you may choose from over a hundred fine library volumes whose retail prices now average \$7.

This is probably the most economical means ever devised for building a well-rounded personal library. Since its inauguration \$406,000,000 worth of books (retail value) has been received by Book-of-the-Month Club members through this unique plan.

BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB, Inc.
345 Hudson Street, New York, N.Y. 10014

A127-10-1

Please enroll me as a member of the Book-of-the-Month Club and send me the three volumes whose numbers I have indicated in boxes below, billing me \$1.00 for all three volumes. I agree to purchase at least three additional monthly Selections or Alternates during the first year I am a member. I have the right to cancel my membership any time after buying these three books. If I continue after the trial, I will earn a Book-Dividend Credit for every Selection—or Alternate—I buy under the system described at left. (A small charge is added to all book shipments to cover postage and mailing expense.) PLEASE NOTE: Occasionally the Club offers a Double Selection, two books at a special combined price. Such purchases are counted as a single book in fulfilling the membership obligation.

INDICATE BY NUMBER THE THREE BOOKS YOU WANT

----------------------	----------------------	----------------------

MR. }
MRS. }
MISS } (Please print plainly)

Address

City..... Zone..... State.....
or Zip.....

The trademarks BOOK-OF-THE-MONTH CLUB and BOOK-DIVIDEND are registered by Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., in the U.S. Patent Office and in Canada.

T.R.B.

from
Washington

Something in the Wind

★ Thumping his desk, Senator Dirksen shook the famous locks that have been compared to the tangled kelp in the Sargasso Sea and bemoaned the charge of fellow-Republican Thruston Morton that the military establishment had brainwashed Mr. Johnson on Vietnam.

"Have you heard the British demean *their* King and Queen?" he cried with a fierce thespian flourish. "No, you do not demean the ruler."

The President, he hastened to add, is not our ruler, "but you do not demean him in the eyes of people abroad."

Mr. Dirksen is a friend of Mr. Johnson who helped get him the \$300 million atom-smasher in Weston, Ill., the other day, and he stoutly defends the Johnson war policy. Lose Vietnam, he warned the Senate, and "the whole Pacific coastline of this country will be exposed."

"What does the senator say is the objective of our war in Vietnam?" asked Senator Fulbright drily.

"I mentioned security," said Dirksen. "Did I not recite the right of those people to decide their destiny for themselves? . . . We undertook to fulfill a commitment under the SEATO treaty."

"That means we stay?" needled Fulbright.

"What does the senator want to do?" exploded Dirksen. "You have not heard *me* quarreling with what we have done. *You* have been quarreling for the last year about the conduct of the war!"

"What I would like to see happen," said Fulbright calmly, "is a reconvening of the Geneva Conference, and our agreeing to abide by the result. We did not agree the last time at the last min-

ute. . . I would like to see a negotiation under the co-chairmanship of Great Britain and Russia: full and free elections throughout South Vietnam to create their government; and we would come home."

The question in Washington no longer is whether Mr. Johnson is liked—he isn't; but whether he can hold the country to its present course with polls running against him, with hawks turning into doves in Congress, with costs mounting and even the "victory" of Con Thien (brave though the defenders were) looking like another phase of the prolonged stalemate.

One must not underestimate Mr. Johnson's determination. There was little new in substance in his TV-radio defense of his policy, September 29, but the mood was significant. There is no reason to believe that the President is not sincere in thinking that the country will someday thank him for pursuing a momentarily unpopular course where more and more people feel with Fulbright that "the price we are paying for this is all out of proportion to anything we can gain."

There is a great drama going on in the White House. Mr. Johnson has taken to carrying around in his coat pocket statistics showing that the US is winning the war—figures on tonnage, bombage, defectors and body count—just as in happier days he used to whisk out Gallup polls on his popularity and political invincibility. In conferences with his staff he allows discussion of the problem of his "likeability gap," and bolder advisers deal with it coolly. He himself attributes the gap in part to (a) a snobbish bias against Texans; (b) a new isolationism; and (c) some odd but acknowledged inability to get his views over to press and public.

The President often uses off-the-record meetings with callers—foreigners or newsmen—for monologues in which he marshals his arguments. Some of these meetings are protracted and embarrass modest visitors who feel they are encroaching on his time. Mr. Johnson gets relief from the practice, however, and followed it long before he came to the White House.

It would be folly for opponents to underestimate the man; he is tough and determined and, quite apart from the validity of his arguments, well aware

that Republican leaders would hurl themselves upon him if he substantially altered his position or exposed himself to the charge of inconsistency.

In my judgment the winds and tides have turned against the President on this issue, though I may be mistaken, and the change may be only temporary. But a way out of the national impasse seems as far removed as ever. The public hates the war but it hates the idea of defeat even more. Before long it may be groping for a scapegoat for its frustration. The polls may indicate the process has already begun. Unlike Harry Truman, Mr. Johnson would not make a very attractive underdog.

Some blows he suffers must be harsh. For example, he felt assured by intermediaries that Governor Rockefeller would stoutly support his Vietnam policy. (Washington generally believes Rocky wants the GOP nomination avidly; and would probably be the party's strongest candidate.) Now comes the well-informed *NYTimes* to declare that Rocky is "turning away" from the White House on the Vietnam issue. If so he is only the latest GOP leader to feel a change in the wind.

Last spring Dirksen taunted Democrats for not supporting the war with the same unity as Republicans; today the GOP is just as divided. Some liberal Republicans find Dirksen hard to take; they say he gives the party the image of a character out of Dickens, funny but dated. One group would like to replace him with Senator Morton (Ky.) who stepped in to put over the Consular Treaty with Russia when Dirksen led the fight against it. Morton is a former party national chairman. Dirksen has a cozy relationship with the President, often swapping favors and giving him occasionally valuable help, as in the 1965 civil rights bill. (He fought the 1966 bill because of the open housing provision.)

Dirksen vainly opposed the one-man, one-vote reapportionment decision. He nominated Goldwater and is now suspected of being a Reagan man. His eye is on the chairmanship of the Resolutions Committee at the GOP convention next year where he could supervise the Vietnam declaration. High time for a change, a number of middle-road Republicans say.

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion* Volume 157 Number 16 Issue 2759 October 14, 1967
Published weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December)
and distributed by The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy
35c. Yearly subscription, \$9; Foreign \$10; Armed Forces personnel or students, \$6. Send all remittances and correspond-
ence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of addresses to Subscription Department, The New Republic, 381
West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302. Copyright© 1967 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc. Item g. Second Class
Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.

Mad Momentum

CONTENTS

COMMENT 5-8

Mad Momentum, Homes for
Whom?, Urban Unemployed,
Hayden Moves

Coming Up with a Slate in California
— James Ridgeway 9

Draft-Kennedy Conclave
— A Special Correspondent 10

Writing the Democratic Platform
— Joseph L. Rauh Jr. 11

The NLF's Terms for Peace
— George McT. Kahin 13

BOOKS — Reviews by Joseph Featherstone,
Theodore Solotaroff, Alex Campbell 18

CORRESPONDENCE 27

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief — Gilbert A. Harrison
Managing Editor — Alex Campbell
Books and Arts Editor — Robert Evett
Associate Literary Editor — Stanley Kauffmann
Associate Editors — James Ridgeway,
David Sanford, Joseph Featherstone
Assistant to the Editors — F. R. Ruskin
Copy Editor — Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel,
Robert Brustein, Robert Coles, Helen Fuller,
Frank Getlein, Frederick Gutheim,
Christopher Jencks, Gerald W. Johnson,
Pauline Kael, Andrew Kopkind

Publisher — Garth Hite
Circulation Manager — Bertha Lehman
Business Manager — Glenon Matthiesen
New York Advertising Representative —
E. Laurence White Jr., Good-Laidley-White
50 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017

Senator Joseph Clark (D, Pa.) is asking Congress to put its mind to the question of why the United States should spend \$5 billion (of which less than a billion has so far been appropriated) on a "limited" missile defense system directed against China. Mr. Clark believes the investment is "unwise." He is not likely to convince a majority of its unwisdom, however; not because his views are unreasonable, but because he is challenging something more powerful than reason. He is challenging the White House, which, as James Reston of *The New York Times* pointed out several weeks ago, has decided to build "not an anti-missile system for the Chinese but for the Republicans." Not the military security of the United States, but the political security of the President's party is the real justification for the ABM. It is to be a shield protecting the Administration against any charge of neglecting our defenses. When, last year, Senator Clark tried to knock out \$153.5 million for the procurement of long lead items for an ABM system, he was turned down by a vote of 14-73. Insofar as they gave the matter any thought at all, the legislators were buying not immunity against a nuclear attack but immunity for themselves against political reprisals. At no point, then or now, has there been any serious discussion of what sense this system makes in the long or the short run. As in the Tonkin Bay resolution, the commitment to an ABM has been made almost blindly; as did that earlier action, it illustrates how seemingly limited decisions have within them unlimited, irreversible and dangerous consequences that are not initially understood or debated.

In asking that we stop now and take a long look at what this decision means, Senator Clark points out that "once the Chinese develop their rocket force beyond the primitive stage, our ABM system will not be effective. If the Chinese get their rocket assembly lines going, and develop warheads and penetration aids, they will be able to overwhelm our outmoded ABM system just as the Russians could overwhelm it today." Moreover, even in the interim, an anti-ballistic missile system offers no protection against a "Chinese submarine [that] could perhaps deliver a low trajectory rocket which would sneak through our radar screen, just as the Israeli Air Force sneaked through the Egyptian radar defenses." The Chinese could also detonate "a nuclear bomb underwater near our West Coast, where the prevailing winds would sweep a cloud of deadly radioactivity ashore. Or, James Bondish as it sounds, miniature bombs could be hand carried into our cities in suitcases and detonated." If the Chinese are foolish enough to risk the

total devastation of their country by launching a rocket strike against us, Senator Clark asks, "what is keeping them from attacking us in any of these ways?" The answer, he states unequivocally, is quite obvious: "a deterrence, effective deterrence of all forms of nuclear assault."

That "effective deterrence" is exactly what Secretary McNamara insists we have now, without an ABM system. The Secretary left no doubt of it in his speech last September 18: "our strategic offensive forces are immense"; "all of these flexible and highly reliable forces are equipped with devices that insure their penetration of Soviet defenses." (No one believes Chinese defenses are or will be any the less vulnerable.) Mr. McNamara said further that "none of the [ABM] systems at the present or foreseeable state of the art would provide an impenetrable shield over the United States," that "there is clearly no point . . . in spending \$40 billion if it is not going to buy us any significant improvement in our security." "Every ABM system that is now feasible involves firing defensive missiles at incoming offensive warheads in an effort to destroy them," he said. "But what many commentators on this issue overlook is that any such system can rather obviously be defeated by an enemy simply sending more offensive warheads, or dummy warheads, than there are defensive missiles capable of disposing of them." He reminded his audience that the US has "already initiated offensive weapons programs costing several billions in order to offset the small present Soviet ABM deployments." (Again, surely they would be no less effective against China.) He recalled that four prominent scientists who served as science advisers to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson and the three outstanding men who have served as directors of research and engineering to three Secretaries of Defense "have unanimously recommended against the deployment of an ABM system designed to protect our population against a Soviet attack." He stated that "we have the power not only to destroy completely [China's] entire nuclear offensive forces, but to devastate her society as well." And finally,

the Secretary spoke of the futility of spending "\$4 billion, \$40 billion or \$400 billion – and at the end of all the spending, and at the end of all deployment, and at the end of all the effort, to be relatively at the same point of balance on the security scale that we are now."

Quod erat demonstrandum. His argument was unsailable. And having made it, Mr. McNamara went on to announce the decision "to go forward with this Chinese-oriented ABM deployment, and we will begin actual production of such a system at the end of this year." In effect, he was saying: we don't need an ABM system as a deterrent to a nuclear attack (the deterrent is in our offensive striking power); it would not protect us anyway if we *were* attacked; indeed, it is probably an altogether bad idea because it may accelerate the arms race – therefore, let's have it, but keep it thin. What conceivable political pressures could persuade a man of his independence and analytical powers to dump his own logic, set in motion forces that will not be satisfied by any "limited" \$5 billion system, and abet what he calls the "mad momentum intrinsic to the development of all new nuclear weaponry."

A former special assistant of McNamara's, Adam Yarmolinsky, has asked publicly whether it is "really possible to resist the pressures to expand the new system." He seems to think it might be possible, that the US might be able to "avoid playing follow the leader in so senseless and dangerous a game . . . particularly since the Defense budget has been remarkably well protected from the kind of congressional log-rolling that goes on with, say, rivers and harbors appropriations." But the senseless and dangerous game cannot be avoided if the Secretary of Defense himself chooses to play it.

The Senate owes it to the country (and to itself, remembering its later regrets at having, too hastily, approved the Tonkin Bay resolution) to stop and think. In the April 1967 *Foreign Affairs*, J. I. Coffey, a former officer who has served in the State and Defense Departments and on the White House staff, wrote that "whatever views one may have on the utility of ABMs, one must also acknowledge their disadvantages. For any deployment, the price, in coin and in new instabilities, will be high. Chief among the costs is likely to be an erosion of the already slim possibility of reaching agreement on further arms control measures which could produce a more secure world. Without denying the importance of military power in attaining this goal, it is still possible to question the relative allocation of resources to the increase of that power, and particularly the addition of increments which promise so little and risk so much. On these grounds the whole issue of constructing ballistic missile defenses needs to be carefully thought through, by both the United States and the Soviet Union."

COMING: *What has
happened to the US –
an inquiry by
Hans J. Morgenthau*

Homes for Whom?

By merely being present when the insurance industry announced its billion-dollar slum investment program, President Johnson momentarily turned the spotlight away from the initiative of slum planners Robert Kennedy and Charles Percy who, along with others in Congress, have been rebuilding the ghetto on paper. The so-called Percy-Mondale housing compromise of September 27 further highlights Administration leadership by appropriating some of Senator Percy's terminology for use in a home loan program which is favored by the Democrats in the Senate.

Percy had originally hoped to set up a National Home Ownership Foundation with authority to sell federally guaranteed bonds. The money thus raised would go to nonprofit groups which would buy and rehabilitate slum properties. The housing would then be sold on a long-term, low-interest basis to people on the periphery of poverty. Under the Percy-Mondale compromise to be considered by the Senate housing subcommittee, little remains of the Percy plan except the name "National Home Ownership Foundation." Instead of selling bonds and playing banker, it will give technical advice, succor and perhaps a little seed money to nonprofit groups interested in going into the slums. They will have to get the bulk of their money elsewhere – from private banks and the FHA, customarily reluctant to make high-risk investments. The conservative lending policies of FHA, plus the dearth of qualified nonprofit groups, have operated in the past to keep loans for slum housing under existing programs to a minimum. The Senate Finance Committee's recent amendment to the rent supplement bill excludes federal construction loans to nonprofit organizations unless they can put up a sizable chunk of their own money, which many can't. The Percy-Mondale compromise, lacking funding authority, would not make money more freely available, although its technical assistance would help to qualify inexperienced nonprofit groups for FHA and other loans previously denied for lack of expertise.

In the place of the original Percy proposal, the Senate housing subcommittee will consider a scheme to subsidize interest paid by low-income families who want to own their homes. Some \$70 million would be made available over three years to make up the difference between market rate interest (often 6½ percent) and the three percent a family making under \$6,000 might be able to pay.

Neither Mr. Percy's first plan nor the compromise does anything for the 29.7 million people defined as poor by the most recent government count. A family trying to survive on \$3,000 is not likely to be in the market to buy a house, and the incentive of a low-interest loan won't matter to a family that can't afford

to pay back the principal even over many years' time. As Robert B. Semple Jr. pointed out (*The Slum Planners*, NR, July 22) a typical \$12,500 loan paid back over 30 years at 2½ percent would cost about \$50 a month in interest and principal plus perhaps \$50 more in taxes, insurance and repairs. Only a family earning \$5,000 could be expected to handle that. The Percy-Mondale scheme is intended to benefit perhaps 200,000 families from among four million families in the \$3,500 to \$6,000 bracket, leaving nearly 30 million hard-core poor people untouched.

Urban Unemployed

It was not our intention ("How Many Unemployed," September 30) to suggest that the Secretary of Labor is willfully or knowingly concealing the facts about unemployment in the slums, as Willard Wirtz charges in his letter (see *Correspondence*, page 27). The point we hoped to make was that it is virtually impossible to obtain from the Department complete and accurate data about unemployment in specific cities or neighborhoods within cities, or for racial groups.

We were aware that Mr. Wirtz had held a press conference last March 15 at which he discussed candidly and in some detail the problems of urban unemployment. He disclosed the results of special surveys undertaken in late 1966 in specific neighborhoods in eight selected cities. At one point, he said the survey results constituted a "pretty startling, discouraging picture." He also admitted that the government "until the last six months" had no "comprehensive or reliable" employment figures "on a city-by-city basis." He then went on to say that the Department of Labor has "now established – and it will be a permanent part of our reporting – a series on the unemployment situation in the 20 largest cities. About a third of the population is in those 20 cities and about a third of the unemployment is there." He added that this new effort was being undertaken at the express wish of the President. Said Mr. Wirtz: "The President's instruction was that we find out what is going on as far as the slum situation is concerned."

In the light of those remarks (now six months old), we tried again last week to get precise data on the rate of unemployment and the number of unemployed in the nation's 20 largest cities.

First, we called the Department's Information Office and were told that the information we wanted was available from the Department's Bureau of Employment Security. At the Bureau of Employment Security, we were informed that they would have to find out if they had such information; the Bureau promised that they would call back.

While waiting for the Bureau of Employment Se-

curity to come up with an answer, we telephoned the Manpower Administration, the agency which runs the government's entire multimillion-dollar job development and training program. "We don't give out that information," a spokesman for the Manpower Administration explained, "Try the Office of Manpower, Policy, Evaluation and Research." We called the Office of Manpower, Policy, Evaluation and Research, only to find out that they got all their unemployment figures from the Bureau of Labor Statistics. After two fruitless conversations with personnel at the Bureau of Labor Statistics, we were told to get in touch with the Bureau of Employment Security – the people who collect such statistics. We had come full circle.

Then the Bureau of Employment Security returned our earlier call. The answer was definitive: "We do not keep those figures on a city basis. I don't know where else you could try."

Hayden Moves

At 90, Arizona's Democratic Senator, Carl Hayden, decided to flex his muscles for the first time in his 55 years in Congress (beginning in 1912, when Arizona became a state). It was, he perhaps concluded, the only way to get his Central Arizona Project (CAP), long bogged down in the complicated water politics of the West, out in the open. After their initial shock at this energetic display by the mild-mannered, one-time sheriff from Maricopa County (Phoenix), his Senate colleagues have been lining up to offer their tributes to the chairman of the powerful Senate Appropriations Committee.

CAP has been through as many versions as there are water interests in the West. But, despite intense backstage maneuvering, its proponents have never been able to put together a proposal that would satisfy all interested parties, largely because there isn't enough water in the Colorado River.

Last year, Senator Hayden presented a plan that called for two new dams on the Colorado (flanking the Grand Canyon) and for a water importation study. It angered conservationists, who claimed the Grand Canyon would be flooded as a result, as well as congressmen from the Northwest, who looked with askance at any study that might lead to a recommendation that Columbia River water be imported to make up the deficit in the Colorado River. So, the current version drops the dams and throws a couple more bones to the conservationists – a moratorium on the Hualapai (Bridge Canyon) dam site and the promise that Senator Hayden will help extend the boundaries of Grand Canyon National Park if his CAP is enacted – and eliminates the water study, thus enabling Senator Hayden to get his proposal past Sen. Henry M. Jackson (D,

Wash.), chairman of the Senate Interior Committee.

But it makes California unhappy. It only agreed to CAP because the last proposal offered that state some hope of importing water from the Northwest. Colorado is unhappy, too, and the chairman of the House Interior Committee is none other than the crochety gentleman from Colorado's Western slope, Rep. Wayne N. Aspinall (D, Colo.). No sooner had Senator Hayden brought his current version out of the Senate than Chairman Aspinall announced he wouldn't even hold hearings in the House this year. The Arizonan, under increasing pressure from back home to do something, looked around for a way to get a vote in the House. His eyes fell on the public works appropriations bill, laden with pork barrel projects for one and all.

After some maneuvering, Hayden received permission from the Senate Appropriations Committee (the vote was 18-5 with Colorado's Republican Senator, Gordon Allott, screaming the whole thing was "immoral") to move to suspend the Senate rules to allow the distinguished Senator from Arizona to ask that body to allow him to attach his CAP to the public works appropriations bill. Since CAP passed the Senate 70-12 earlier and most of his colleagues felt he deserved a vote in the House (especially since Representative Aspinall adjourned his committee Labor Day and went home), there was no doubt the Senate would give him a belated 90th birthday present (he made his initial move only a few days before that date) and thus insure that the House would have to vote on CAP, even though it would be on the question of whether to accept a Senate-House conference committee report on the public works appropriations bill.

Senator Hayden will still have trouble in the House. Chairman Aspinall is powerful and so is California's 38-man delegation, now reported lined up solidly against neighboring Arizona. But the Senator will get his vote, which should make the folks back home feel a little better.

If he should succeed, Arizona might decide to give him a 91st birthday present in the form of an eighth term (he moved over to the Senate in 1927) next fall, thus denying Barry Goldwater his comeback. It isn't an impossibility. On his 90th birthday, Senator Hayden had his cake and ate it and saw an endless stream of reporters (one aide said he took care of *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times* and *Newsweek* "in one sitting") and appeared on the "Today" show. Each time he was asked if he planned to seek reelection, he said: "Why not?"

With economy in the air, who besides the chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee could encourage his colleagues to authorize spending up to \$1.2 billion on a water project in the Southwest (it would pump water from the Colorado to the Phoenix area)? Or to fund it in the years ahead?

Looking Toward 1968

Coming Up with a Slate In California

by James Ridgeway

Long Beach

At its special convention September 30, the California Democratic Council, the volunteer group which once helped "Pat" Brown become governor, decided to run a slate of "peace" candidates in the Democratic primary next June. If elected, these delegates would go to the national convention pledged to vote for a presidential candidate who promises to stop the bombing in North Vietnam and is committed to begin negotiations leading to the withdrawal of the American troops from Vietnam.

The CDC has been in the dumps in recent years. Now it claims to be rejuvenated with a membership of 30,000, the largest group of volunteer Democrats in the country. They have some prospect of putting through a peace slate in California, partly because their proposals are so modest, and partly because a recent state poll shows the tide running against Johnson because of his stance on the war. Their prospects would be brighter, if as variously reported, Jesse Unruh, the Democratic boss who leads the State Assembly, actually has gone sour on the war and is himself thinking of running a peace slate. At any rate Unruh has been on the phone with Gerald Hill, the San Francisco lawyer who heads CDC, and there is speculation that some kind of a deal can be worked out between these two factions within the party. A combined peace slate would then have to beat the followers of Sam Yorty, the eccentric mayor of Los Angeles, who is sure to run on his own ticket, and it would not be a peace ticket.

The CDC decided to go forward with a peace slate at a one-day convention at the Long Beach arena. About 2,500 people showed up at this dreary place, set amidst the oil rigs which dot the city of Long Beach, a few miles down the coast from Los Angeles. The delegates bought box lunches and acted as if they were at some kind of bridge tournament. For the most part they seem to be depleted Stevensonian Democrats, relatively well off, satisfied in general with things as they are, except for the war, and here they would like to see the government take a bit more initiative in arranging a settlement. The New Politics crowd attempted to spread the "spirit of Chicago," and after very hard work finally

got the convention to go on record supporting Mexican Americans and blacks in their efforts to control their own communities, and there were promises exacted from the CDC leaders to bring some Negroes into the organization's governing body. The delegates even agreed after a good bit of haggling to stick back into their resolutions a statement registering opposition to racism in America. Most of this was done, however, against the advice of the more practical politicians present who could not see making any progress in California by tying the grievances of the ghetto to the war in Vietnam.

Few elected officials put in an appearance. The mayor of Sausalito came as a reporter. John Burton, an assemblyman from San Francisco was there arguing for moderation. He said he could run a protest meeting any time at hippie Haight-Asbury, but in this instance he was out to win an election. Five of California's liberal congressmen didn't attend, instead sending a cautious telegram which read: "We share your aims of ending the war in Vietnam and fulfilling the needs of our own citizens. Knowing the changeability of California and national politics, we urge the convention to act judiciously and keep its options open." It was signed by George E. Brown Jr., Don Edwards, Augustus Hawkins, Edward Roybal and Philip Burton, John's brother. This was plain enough warning not to challenge Lyndon directly, at this time, and the convention followed it.

John Kenneth Galbraith delivered the keynote address, reciting at some length all the reasons we shouldn't be in Vietnam. He found the logic of those who urge withdrawal "increasingly persuasive," but then pointed out we all must work to persuade others, and this may not be so easy. So Galbraith ended up urging a cessation of bombing in the North, leaving the jungles and swamps in the control of the Viet Cong and holding onto the areas the US now deems secure. It was not a perfect solution, he said, but then neither was Korea a perfect solution. Following Galbraith's speech either he or his handler put around the rumor among the press tables that Arthur Schlesinger Jr., might run in the New Hampshire primary; and when somebody gagged on that, there was the suggestion that Galbraith himself might run in New Hampshire.

The CDC agreed to hear a black speaker, Elijah Turner—a former candidate for city councilman in Oakland and national treasurer of CORE. "We [blacks] are here," Turner said, "because we are upset because you have been so concerned about peace in Vietnam and not concerned with the freedom of black people here within the United States. And when I see that you are more concerned about peace in Vietnam than about freedom here in the United States for black people, then you are in the same bag with LBJ who says he

is more concerned with forming a democratic government in Vietnam when he cannot enforce a democratic government here in this country for black people." Turner got a nice hand, but the people at the CDC convention were more interested in a one-issue peace campaign.

Originally, the amendments committee had drawn up a fairly strong statement on the war. It called for an immediate halt in bombing of both North and South Vietnam, an end to ground fighting in South Vietnam, and the beginning of phased withdrawal of US troops. This was subsequently watered down and the convention came out in favor of a pledge to back a candidate who would stop bombing in North Vietnam, begin "negotiations—including all participants—for settlement of the war so that American armed forces may be withdrawn," and seek "international guarantees for nonintervention in Vietnam." Edmund G. Brown Jr., Pat Brown's son, summed it up for the liberals when he said this was a "respectable" proposition, and one which might find favor in the Congress. "It's a first step," he said. "It's not a wild program. But it is responsible and it has the chance of commending itself to a majority of the voters in the Democratic Party. Let's not become the voices in the wilderness, sounding

out shrilly but irrelevantly. . . . I think it's time for a little victory. We're getting tired of losing in this state."

According to CDC's theory, if they get a slate through the primary, then the California Democrats acting in conjunction with others who will try similar efforts in New York, Oregon, New Hampshire, Wisconsin, etc., may show Johnson that it is no use, and he should retire. This would leave Robert Kennedy to play it off against Hubert Humphrey, with Kennedy winning. (Incidentally few even bothered to applaud the name of Kennedy at the convention when he was urged on them as a possible candidate.)

Another theory has it that if Johnson wins renomination, there is an excellent chance of California's going Republican should any kind of moderate run. There is enthusiasm for a Rockefeller-Hatfield ticket.

Meanwhile, the radicals in the state are trying to register 67,000 people by the end of the year, so as to launch a peace and freedom party which might offer an alternative to moderate, middle-of-the-road politics. Seven-thousand people have signed up; the chances of getting the 67,000 people are dim. There may be some court tests, however, that will challenge the state election laws, which are rigged to make it nearly impossible for third parties or independents to operate.

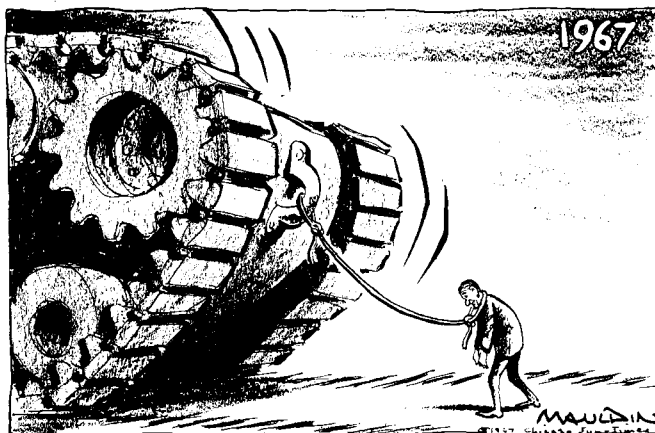
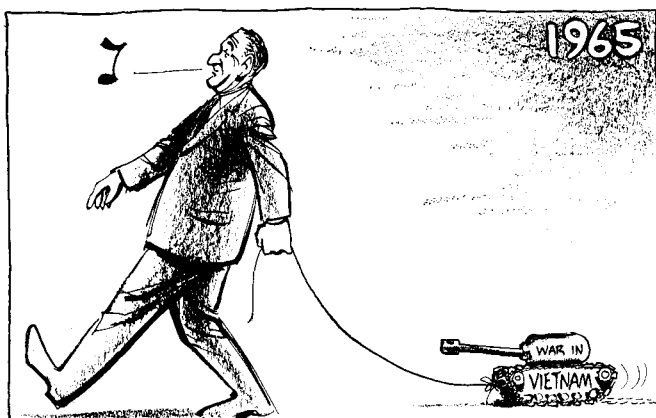
In contrast to the tepid stuff to come out of the convention, the voters in San Francisco next month will have a significant chance to repudiate Johnson's handling of the war. They will be asked to vote on a proposition that reads, "It is the policy of the people of the city and county of San Francisco that there be an immediate cease-fire and withdrawal of US troops from Vietnam so that the Vietnamese people can settle their own problems."

Draft-Kennedy Conclave

A Special Correspondent

Pittsburgh

Citizens for Kennedy in '68 nominated their candidate at convention in Pittsburgh last week and began laying plans to get his name entered in next year's primaries, no matter how hard he kicks. The meeting, according to a past-tensed press release issued before it began, took place in a Greater Pittsburgh YMCA conference room, although there is some doubt about that. Homer Bigart in *The New York Times* says it was the YMCA. At any rate, 7,200 members in 50 chapters in 27 states



were represented there by 24 delegates, and Mr. Bigart, under the spell of religious music wafting in from a nearby chapel, made note of a certain "evangelical fervor." A delegate at one point called Kennedy a "gift from the Gods." Participants had journeyed from Hanover, N. H.; Redding, Conn.; Versailles, Ky.; Cooperstown, N. Y.; Seymour, Ind.; Frostburg, Md.; Rockford, Ill. — to pledge allegiance to a man whose allegiance is pledged elsewhere. He is, they believe, "the only logical alternative" to Lyndon Johnson, the only hope for ending "this horrible war."

A Pittsburgher who had helped RFK in his New York Senate campaign and who considers himself an insider, said he wouldn't touch the convention with a Gallup poll, that Kennedy wants to run, but only after Johnson is defeated next year. Moreover, he said that Mr. Johnson has threatened to strip Bobby (and New York) of highways, health and housing, and patronage if he doesn't behave himself. But, Mr. Kennedy's problems are his problems and the CFK-68 delegates, considering him "public property," are going to run him anyway. If Mr. Rockefeller can be elected, despite his loss of interest, by the polls; if Mr. Romney, who is not a candidate, can go slumming with a presidential entourage of reporters; then Mr. Kennedy can run in New Hampshire. "We are cognizant of Senator Kennedy's reluctance to run," says Dr. Martin Shepard, co-chairman of CFK-68, "and respect his sincerity in this matter."

The only substantial issue that came up at Pittsburgh — in meetings closed to reporters — was whether the convention should submerge its pro-Kennedy leanings in a broader-based campaign to dethrone Johnson with an as yet nameless alternative candidate behind whom all anti-Johnson Democrats could stand. Friends of Kennedy grappled with whether they should "ditch Kennedy" in order to "dump Johnson," but finally decided to differ amicably with ADA vice chairman Alard K. Lowenstein. He argued in his keynote address to the Lilliputian convention that denying Johnson the Democratic nomination is so formidable a job as to require the concerted efforts of everyone, including those whose antipathy toward the President cannot be translated into ardor for the senator. The convention decided "it would be the absolute death of this movement if we tried to fight Johnson with nobody. Lowenstein is asking us to commit suicide."

Nevertheless, the delegates sent fraternal greetings to the president of the California Democratic Council, Gerald N. Hill, whose group was convening simultaneously to plan a campaign for a peace delegation. Shepard said Citizens for Kennedy in '68 would give its "unstinting support" to CDC's efforts, while at the same time working for its reluctant dragon. CFK-68 is the successor to Citizens for Kennedy-Fulbright.

The name was changed not because Fulbright had fallen into disfavor but rather because people got the erroneous impression from the name that the group wanted the Arkansas senator as RFK's running mate, which they did not.

CFK-68 prides itself on its grass-roots character. In its campaign documents it quotes the *Paris Herald Tribune's* assessment of the group as a bunch of amateurs. It holds no \$1,000-a-plate fund raising dinners but monthly parties on Sunday afternoons, admission price \$1.50. It cites as evidence of momentum the letters of support, the new chapters, the tallying of petitions, and the newspapers' "vociferous" reports of its activities.

Unwitting Robert Kennedy, for his part, has said he will take steps to sabotage his own campaign by withdrawing his name should it be entered on the New Hampshire primary ballot. In that event CFK-68 will run a slate of candidates favorable to him.

Writing the Democratic Platform

by Joseph L. Rauh Jr.

At the risk of accusations of being "soft on Johnson," worse yet, challenging *The New Republic*, I would urge liberal Democrats opposed to the Vietnam war to support the "peace caucus" strategy at the 1968 Democratic National Convention rather than rushing into "dump Johnson" maneuvers. Peace is too important a political issue for overpersonalization against one man.

This is not to deny that the "dump Johnson" movement has considerable surface appeal. After all, it is President Johnson's war: he transformed the United States role in Vietnam from assistance to an indigenous army into our doing the bulk of the fighting, thus increasing American troops in the area by some four thousand percent; he rejects all entreaties to stop the bombing and make a genuine effort at negotiations; he clamps conformity and silence upon an Administration many of whose members not only oppose his Vietnam policies but entreat antiwar outsiders to "carry on"; he challenges dissent from his crusade with public epithets of Nervous Nellies and moral double book-keepers and private charges ranging up to disloyalty.

Why then such strong opposition from the National Board of the Americans for Democratic Action to the "dump Johnson" movement as reported by *The New Republic* editors last week? Because of fear of reprim-

ination or hope of favor? No – simply because a wide range of considerations compel a different political strategy in opposition to the war in Vietnam.

First: There is ugliness in just being against someone. It is one thing to be for one candidate in preference to another; it is quite another just to oppose. Indeed, as the virulence of the “dump Johnson” campaign escalates (one anti-Johnson political group has already compared him to George Lincoln Rockwell), this overpersonalization of the peace issue into “anybody-but-Johnson” may well boomerang and bring sympathy for the attacked rather than votes for the attackers.

Second: The “dump Johnson” movement is calculated to demonstrate weakness rather than strength. Drafting Robert Kennedy flies in the face of the senator’s own repeated declarations that he supports President Johnson who has “borne the burdens of the world as few other men have ever borne them.” As the 1960 “draft Stevenson” experience shows, when one is going after presidential delegates the most important ingredient is a willing and active candidate; the Stevenson drafters failed to win delegates without even the additional handicap of an incumbent candidate against them. And those who prefer “dump Johnson” to “draft Kennedy” as their slogan would do well to remember that it is hard enough to defeat an incumbent President in his own convention under any circumstances; it is impossible to do so without a candidate.

Third: Personalizing the issue denies the opportunity for participation to the many Democratic political leaders who want to join in a peace effort inside their party but whose position prevents their joining a “dump Johnson” movement. Coalescence *for* the issue rather than *against* the man can alone bring the full force of those who oppose the Vietnam war to bear upon next year’s convention.

Fourth: The “dump Johnson” movement would fracture the liberal-labor-Negro coalition that has elected every liberal President and made possible every liberal advance since the 1930s. The Vietnam war and black power have split the coalition badly enough; this would complete the process. Most of labor’s leadership supports the war, but all of it supports President Johnson (note Walter Reuther’s endorsement of Johnson for reelection the very day he announced his opposition to bombing North Vietnam). A large segment of the Negro leadership (*e.g.* Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young) have made their pro-Johnson position equally clear. To split the liberals from their natural labor and Negro allies will not only weaken efforts toward deescalation and peace in Vietnam, but will also shatter hope for progress at home.

Possibly even these reasons might not be enough

if there were no alternative political course toward peace. But the ADA board found such an alternative in the proposal to build a “peace caucus” at the 1968 convention. Under this plan, in some states slates of delegates will run in primaries as peace candidates committed to joining the peace caucus and to obtaining a peace plank in the 1968 Democratic platform. In other states, peace slates can operate at state or local nominating conventions. In others, the threat of a challenge by responsible citizens opposed to the war may be enough to capture all or part of the delegation. In still others, as in the District of Columbia, a referendum on the peace issue can be used to bind the delegates into the peace caucus. These would be true tests of peace strength, tests on the issue rather than on personality.

At the national convention the peace caucus will almost certainly hold the center of the stage. The possibility of a floor battle (ten percent of the platform committee can take an issue to the floor) would make the peace caucus the hottest news of the convention. With riots and urban crises on every delegate’s tongue, and with the realization that only settlement of the war will bring that massive rebuilding of the cities necessary for progress and domestic tranquillity, the peace caucus will attract all the progressive forces present. The political impact of the antiwar forces would be optimum.

The effort for the peace caucus will bind no one. If it should fail to turn the Democratic Party toward the cause of peace in Vietnam, all who supported the caucus would be free to turn to a moderate peace-minded Republican (if such there is) or to a third party. And they would also be free to support the Democratic Party if the Republicans should unhappily choose Richard Nixon or Ronald Reagan as their standard-bearer. The strategy keeps all options open.

Finally, the primary, convention and other efforts during the coming months for peace delegates to a peace caucus cannot but act as a restraining influence upon the Administration. It seems unlikely that while struggles are going on in state Democratic parties on the question of deescalation, there would be any tendency further to escalate the war. Add to this restraint the growing belief inside and outside the party that the President cannot win reelection on his present course as a hawk. The success of the drive for delegates to the peace caucus should be a sign to the President that he must turn the corner toward settlement. For he will know as well as anyone that the peace caucus will be a tinderbox where any spark might ignite. If the President should still refuse to alter his course and an alternative Democratic candidate should emerge even at the last moment, these peace delegates might well rally to a genuine challenger.

The NLF's Terms for Peace

by George McT. Kahin

On September 29, President Johnson said he would be prepared to stop bombing the North if the halt led to "productive discussion" with "Ho Chi Minh and other chiefs of state concerned." How is this message likely to be read by our opponents? Last week in these pages, Christopher Jencks told of his conversations in Czechoslovakia with spokesmen for the NLF and the Hanoi government, of their confidence in victory and their skepticism about negotiations with Johnson. In the article that follows, Professor Kahin, recently returned from an extended tour of Southeast Asia, reports the views of a top NLF leader and gives his own impressions of the American pacification effort. Professor Kahin is director of the Southeast Asia Program at Cornell University, the author of Nationalism and Revolution in Indonesia, Government and Politics of Southeast Asia and with John W. Lewis, of The United States in Vietnam.

The high official of the National Liberation Front, with whom I sat down recently in Asia for a morning's talk, spoke, I thought, with considerable candor, asking only that I not disclose his name. Because of his present rank and the important posts he had previously held within the organization, he was able to discuss with confidence and authority some of the fundamental policies and attitudes of the NLF.

"You must appreciate," he began, "how long we have struggled and how heavy our sacrifices have been. You must bear in mind how strongly imprinted is our experience with the French, when after nine years of struggle with great sacrifice we agreed to a compromise settlement." He referred to the Geneva Agreements of 1954 under which his Viet Minh compatriots in the South accepted an armistice on the understanding that elections to determine the outcome of the struggle would be held throughout Vietnam within two years. (He and others in the Viet Minh had, of course, assumed, along with American observers, that they would win those elections.) "But," he continued, "after making that compromise settlement we were betrayed because the Geneva Agreements, which we still regard as good agreements, were not carried out." In his view it was immediately after the Geneva Conference that the US commenced its interference in the affairs of

Vietnam. "The American intervention began in 1954; since then the people have known no peace, and in reality the civil war began then. The sort of solutions that Americans of goodwill are now proposing are all actually retreats back to and well behind Geneva. You cannot expect us, having struggled so long, to be willing now 13 years after Geneva to accept a compromise even less satisfactory than that we accepted in 1954. Why now should we be expected to trust future agreements with the US after what it did following the Geneva Conference? After all, at the time of Geneva there were no American troops occupying our country, and even so you were able to sabotage the agreement and it was not carried out."

When I pressed him as to what steps could now be taken toward an eventual peaceful resolution of the conflict, he took pains to make clear that an unconditional cessation of the bombing of the North would not in itself lead to a settlement in the South. "Of course," he said, "to talk with Hanoi you have to stop the bombing of the North, but that is to talk with Hanoi." (Almost as an aside he remarked that it was unrealistic to demand any matching concession from the North for stopping the bombing since Hanoi was not conducting any similar military activity and could not therefore compensate by suspending air action

against the US.) An end to the bombing of the North, he reiterated, must be considered exclusively in the framework of the American relationship with Hanoi and could have no direct effect upon American relations with the NLF.

The situation in the South is a different matter, he emphasized, and to bring an end to the fighting there it will be absolutely necessary for the United States to negotiate directly with the NLF. "After all, it is *we* that are your major opponents, and it is with us that you are fighting. Therefore, if you want to negotiate you must deal with us. But even though the NLF remains your major adversary, the United States still insists on describing it as an appendage of North Vietnam, and even goes so far as to deny it the status of a belligerent." Referring to the NLF as "the only valid representative of the South Vietnamese people," he insisted that if Washington really was interested in a peaceful settlement in the South it would have to deal, and deal *directly*, with the Front.

"President Johnson," he continued, "keeps talking about 'negotiations or talks without conditions', but in fact you have already made very important conditions. If we accept his negotiations without conditions, this is a deception for major conditions have already been imposed. One is that American troops already exist in and are occupying part of our country. Another is that the US has made clear that it will not give up its basic objective of trying to control South Vietnam politically."

"Some well-meaning Americans," he continued, "propose that the NLF ask to meet somewhere to negotiate with Johnson, but this would be used by him simply as a means for deceiving the American people; for we now recognize that whenever Johnson expresses an interest in peace it is done only to quiet the objectors to the war in the United States. We have a complete lack of trust in President Johnson because of his many past deceptions. How can we be expected to trust President Johnson when he deceives his own people?"

Again and again he returned to what he termed "the basic question": whether or not the United States is willing to abandon its present purpose of "trying to control South Vietnam." "You cannot expect us to negotiate with you," he said, "while we are being attacked and while you continue to occupy our country. After all, if a stranger forces his way into my house I cannot be expected to deal with him while he is occupying part of my house." He stressed that a settlement in South Vietnam must be between the South Vietnamese people themselves, and that the NLF would never countenance a settlement permitting American forces to remain on during a period of implementation.

He then turned to what he apparently regarded as one of the principal reasons for the lack of success of

the American military effort in the South. "You are relying," he said, "on a South Vietnamese army made up of peasants who are conscripted and forced to join the army; they have no heart to fight. You don't understand that their wives and families are in areas controlled by the NLF. How can you expect these men to fight and shell their families?" But it is not merely that the South Vietnamese army lacks the ability and will to fight; he also noted its ineffectiveness in undertaking the job of pacification in the wake of American combat troops. (Here American marine and army officers with whom I had talked in South Vietnam were in solid agreement, regarding the South Vietnamese army not only as an ineffective fighting force but also as psychologically unfit to carry out effective clear-and-hold operations among the peasantry, where, they complain, it acts much more like an alien occupying force than a friendly defender.) As this NLF official put it: "You must realize that you are trying to carry out a pacification program in a rural area which we control." He evidenced no doubt at all that the forces of the NLF are steadily increasing their support from the South Vietnamese population. In general, throughout our conversation he conveyed, and conveyed powerfully, not merely the determination of the NLF but absolute confidence in its ability to see the struggle through to a successful conclusion.

Military and Political Deterioration

I could not help contrasting his attitude with that of South Vietnamese officers whom I had met earlier this year. While privately admitting their inability to stand up alone to the NLF militarily or politically, the Saigon military leaders have been so repeatedly assured of unstinting American backing that they now take for granted long-term massive military and economic support. But even behind an enduring American military shield, they confess that in less than a generation they would be incapable of building up a political force with any chance of competing effectively with the NLF. This view was forcibly expressed to me by one of the top generals in the junta, an officer regarded by US officials as politically the most sophisticated of the group. Stating that "there is a great gap between the politicians – a thin layer at the top of society – and the mass of the people," he acknowledged: "We are very weak politically and without the strong political support of the population which the NLF have. Thus, now even if we defeat them militarily, they can come to power because of their greater political strength. We now have – thanks to the support of our allies – a strong military instrument. But we are without a political instrument that can compete with the communists in the South. Such a political instrument we must now begin to cre-

ate, a process that will take a generation. It is unrealistic to speak of a cease-fire until after we have built up our political strength to a point where we can compete with the communists successfully – a decade from now at least. Thus your President's statement at Manila that US troops would begin withdrawal within six months of a settlement makes no sense. We must have military victory *plus* political superiority first."

Juxtaposition of these two views brought to my mind the frightening discrepancy between the studiedly sanguine reports of the Administration and the actual deterioration of the military and political position of the US and Saigon during the last year.

Nothing, I think, better illustrates this downhill course than the situation in the Eye Corps area, the territory for which the US and Korean marines are primarily responsible. There, even in Quang Nam province, where is focused the major concentration of US military muscle, the power of the VC has grown startlingly during the last six months. Here I refer not so much to their bold attacks against the major American base at Danang as to their ability to penetrate all five provincial capitals. At least twice within this period they have assaulted Quang Nam's capital, Hoi An, on July 15 liberating over 1,200 VC political prisoners. The very center of Hue was entered by the VC last April in an attack little publicized and only belatedly admitted by US authorities. Tam Ky has been assaulted several times, and in the recent attacks on Quang Tri and Quang Ngai large numbers of VC political prisoners were liberated as they were in Hoi An.

In fact, from the outset our marines have been up against an impossible situation. By the beginning of this year – some 18 months after they arrived in the Eye Corps area – the pacification program there was clearly a failure. Official marine estimates then given me were that in Quang Nam province only 18 hamlets (with a population of 19,967) out of a total of 549 (with a population of 568,288) had been pacified. It is not just, of course, in the northern part of South Vietnam that the pacification program has failed. Most of the rural delta remains in VC hands, and even in the provinces adjacent to Saigon itself the NLF continues to dominate a majority of the villages. Thus, when in January I visited Long An province, just to the south of Saigon, American officials informed me that only 90 of the hamlets were Saigon controlled, the remaining 607 being either contested or under VC control. Actually only a very small part of rural South Vietnam is administered by Saigon and a much larger area and considerably greater rural population is under NLF administration. In addition, there are the extensive "contested areas."

Illustrative of the impossibility of fighting this kind of war and of practicing the sort of social surgery

necessary to separate out civilians from the VC was the situation that I observed in Hoi An. As early as January, half of its population consisted of refugees, largely drawn from the devastated area across the river immediately to the south. Here, as in countless other parts of Vietnam, refugees were being generated by what is referred to as "H and I" ("harrassment and interdiction"), artillery bombardment into "free firing zones" – a sort of military short cut which kills many more civilians than enemy troops. The pattern at Hoi An was for a sustained intermittent shelling of a wide area on the other side of the river for the purpose of rendering it useless as a staging area for any possible VC attack on the town. It was the changing and unpredictable patterns traced by these shells that brought so many terrorized Vietnamese civilians to abandon their villages and flee into Hoi An, in effect to sanctuary behind the American artillery. Certainly American officers in the area were not prepared to accept Saigon's assertion that these were refugees from Viet Cong terror and that their presence in Hoi An and adjacent camps testifies to the VC's political alienation of the peasantry.

Refugee camps are anything but islands of support for the Saigon government, and the number of refugees has become so great as to affect significantly the overall political complexion of the country. As of the beginning of this year in South Vietnam there were some two million of these bitter uprooted people. The director general of the Government Refugee Office told me that he expected this number to grow by at least 400,000 as a consequence of American operations in the delta. There has, indeed, been a substantial increase, and during the last seven months, in their efforts to escape to safety, refugees have even begun to spill over the Cambodian border.

Alienating the Peasants

It is not only "H and I" bombardment into free-firing zones and reprisal aerial bombings of villages suspected of harboring VCs that alienate the peasantry from Saigon. Even in ground operations our armed forces often inadvertently drive them away from any possible adherence to the central government. One of the bitterest grievances of the marines with whom I talked in Quang Nam province was the fact that they so often have to "operate blind." Only every other company, they told me, has someone who can speak Vietnamese sufficiently well to communicate with the villagers. Indeed it is very rare for a US army or marine platoon to have an interpreter. "We cannot help making terrible mistakes," they said. Nor is there a significant number of Vietnamese willing to serve them as interpreters. Plenty of English-speaking Vietnamese

sit safely in Saigon where the pay from American construction companies and AID is high, but very few have any disposition to share the dangers of our soldiers and take the risk of going on patrol with them.

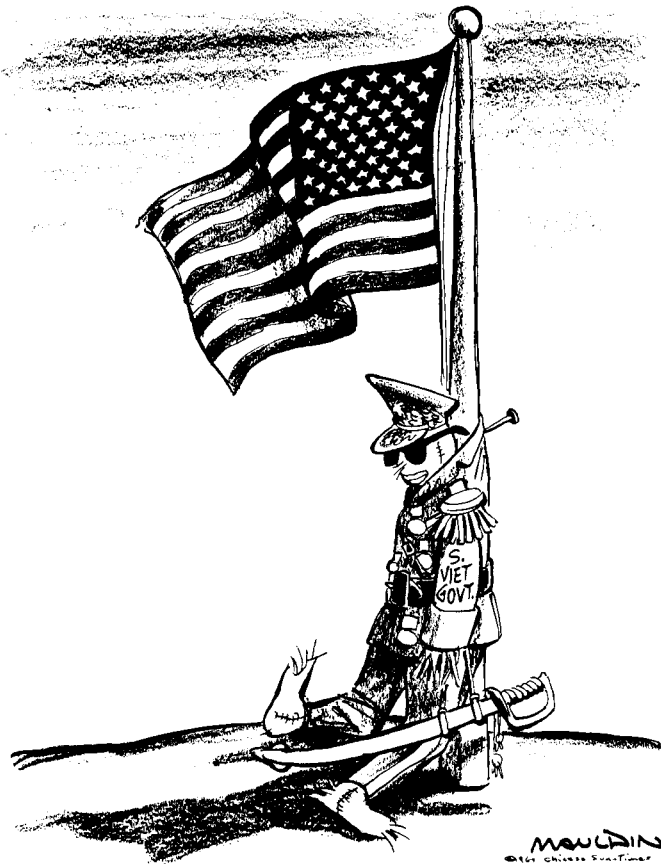
The reason for the continuing failures of the pacification program becomes all the more apparent when one notes how meager are the effective non-communist political elements left to work with. As recently as spring of 1966 there was still in Quang Nam and other northern provinces a modest but still significant non-communist administrative infrastructure. But when Washington backed Ambassador Lodge's decision to support Marshal Ky in suppressing the Buddhist struggle movement, the most important civilian non-communist political organization in South Vietnam was smashed, and it has been suppressed ever since.

As many American military officers will privately acknowledge, there are important positive reasons for the Viet Cong maintaining such widespread support in the face of the pacification effort. It is difficult to weigh the factor of nationalism and the understandable tendency for many South Vietnamese to regard an American-supported Saigon regime as having a good deal in common with its French-supported predecessor – particularly when almost every senior army officer and

the overwhelming majority of top civilian officials collaborated with the French. But clearly a very large part of the rural population has tangible cause to be grateful to the NLF. It was with reference to this that my NLF informant said: "You must understand how strong is the support we have won from the peasantry through our program of providing land to landless peasants from landlord estates. In the areas we control, every peasant has some land." Even making allowances for exaggeration on his part, this policy of the NLF has been of basic importance in winning peasant adherents and insuring their continued alienation from Saigon.

The pacification cadre teams on which American hopes rested so heavily, shy away from agrarian reform, and their mandate, when carried out, calls only for execution of Diem's agrarian laws. Apart from dividing up some French estates, Diem's agrarian law permitted landlords to retain up to 284 acres of rice lands. This is often enough to support a whole hamlet and to involve all of its manpower. Most of the officer corps have a deep vested interest in continuation of this distorted agrarian pattern, and even if civilians in government had real power one could expect no significant change. Dr. Phan Quang Dan – one of the few men of political stature who was elected to the Constituent Assembly – got the support of exactly three of its members in his efforts to incorporate a provision in the constitution guaranteeing land to those who till it. Referring to "too many vested interests in the Assembly," he bitterly remarked to me afterward that "unless we can give the people land and justice we will not win them."

The blindness of the present efforts at pacification became apparent to me when I visited a recently pacified village less than 20 miles south of Saigon. I arrived from the province capital by helicopter, having been told that most of the intervening rich rice-growing area was VC controlled. In the process of talking with a number of the peasant heads of household in this village it became clear that most of them, 58 out of a total of 61 families, did not own the land they tilled but that this was held by absentee landlords. It struck me, of course, as rather unpromising that among the first villages selected for pacification was one where the economic self-interest of so many of the peasants would seem to incline them toward welcoming a return of the VC. When I commented on this, the American official assigned to supervising the pacification effort in the province immediately agreed that such an agrarian balance was unhealthy but said that he had no way of knowing this before the village was chosen. In making such selections, he explained, he could not get advance data concerning the landholding pattern. He had to work through the local Vietnamese officials in the province and district capitals, and they were quite reluctant



Sole support

to provide such data, the majority of them being either landowners themselves or with close family ties with those who are. Pacification has usually meant the landlord's return and his repossession of land which the VC previously distributed to the peasants, and frequently a police-backed demand for payment of back rents. Rep. Ogden Reid's estimate that 75 percent of farms in South Vietnam are the properties of absentee landlords may be a little excessive, but is probably not far from the mark. Certainly, many of the peasants in the villages that are temporarily restored to Saigon's control ("pacified") have reason to look forward to the return of an NLF local administration that will redistribute the lands the landlord has repossessed. In view of this, one can appreciate why the NLF (whatever the long-term economic goals of its leaders) continually insists that the socialist economy of the North is not the policy of the NLF in the South, and that any movement toward a socialist system will have to be taken step-by-step over a long period of time. They continue to emphasize that the NLF is a Southern regime oriented to the needs and expectations of Southerners.

No American Interference

Autonomy and equality with the Hanoi government have long been emphasized in the NLF program, beginning with the first public announcement of its goals at the end of 1960. These objectives were reiterated even more strongly in the 1962 version, where the idea of a separate Southern regime was pushed to the point of calling for a neutralization of the South in conjunction with that of Cambodia and Laos, but specifically not including North Vietnam. It was then that the NLF called for "a badly needed international agreement to enable the powers from different camps to guarantee respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and neutrality of South Vietnam which is ready to form a neutral zone together with Cambodia and Laos, three states enjoying full sovereign rights." The current attitude toward neutralization, this NLF official explained, is that this remains a central objective of the Front, but it realizes that such a status is not suitable for the North because of its ties with the major communist states.

Reunification, he said, remains basic to the aims of the NLF: "But the character of the reunification and the amount of time necessary to undertake it are not clear. Certainly, it is not something that could be carried out in two or three years, but might well take 10 years. In the first place," he pointed out, "the differences between the two Vietnams are so great that it will take a long time to accommodate the differences. The North is a socialist system and the South is an economic system based upon private property. It will

take a long time to shave down the differences between the two systems." The first objective, he said, must be "a normalization of relations, certainly involving commerce between the two parties." When I asked him whether the process of accommodation between the two Vietnams would eventuate in unity, federation, or confederation, he said it was not clear but this was something that had to be worked out step-by-step over a long period of time, and that the ultimate outcome could not be foreseen. "It might," he concluded, "eventuate in two separate economies and it might eventuate in two separate governments."

Whatever political settlement emerges in the South, the NLF does not envisage this as one wherein the present Saigon leadership would play a major role. It has never regarded the Saigon government as representative of the South Vietnamese people. As this official put it, the NLF sees it as nothing more than "an appendage of the United States, one where the United States works through a Vietnamese intermediary, an artificial government manipulated by the Americans." Thus, he said, the NLF still holds to its 10-point program of December 1960, wherein it calls for the overthrow of the Saigon regime and the formation of a coalition government pending the elections of a new national assembly through universal suffrage. (The NLF's detailed program adopted in mid-August of this year is in conformity with the original 10 points.) He emphasized that in pursuance of these basic objectives the South Vietnamese people *themselves* have to work out their own political destiny without any outside interference. In doing this, he said, "the NLF is willing to cooperate in a common action program and work parallel with representative groups which share at least some of its objectives, and for this it is necessary for them to join the NLF." He explained that in working toward such common goals it would be possible, for instance, to cooperate with the Vien Hoa Dao (the Buddhist group led by Thich Thien Hoa, Tri Quang, and Thien Minh). There would not have to be organizational linkage for the NLF to join in common action programs with them and with other "genuinely representative groups." Whether organizational links develop or not would depend upon whether such groups ultimately accepted all the five major goals of the NLF. These he identified as: "Peace, Independence, Democracy, Neutrality, Reunification."

But the NLF remains absolutely adamant that "letting the Vietnamese solve their problems themselves" means just that, and that there must be no American interference in the process. It is with this in mind that the NLF will refuse to enter into negotiations with the United States until absolutely assured that the United States has given up all efforts to control the political development of the South Vietnamese people.

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

William James As Sage

by Joseph Featherstone

Gay Wilson Allen's book is a sturdy chronicle of William James' life—the richest and most cosmopolitan life of any American thinker—done in the plain style of the academies. It is a cluttered book. Mr. Allen is like a fond museum curator who has come to love his bric-a-brac as much as his Rembrandt, and things central to James' life receive the same grave treatment

William James
by Gay Wilson Allen
(Viking; \$10)

The Writings of William James
edited by John J. McDermott
(Random House; \$15)

at his hands as trivial matters. His study suffers from comparison with Ralph Barton Perry's splendid portrait of James or with F. O. Matthiessen's subtle evocation of *The James Family*. *William James* does, however, have the virtues of a good chronicle: it is admirably complete, and includes new material, particularly letters and diaries of James' wife, Alice, who up to now has remained a very shadowy figure. The chief virtue is Mr. Allen's readiness to quote at length from the vivid writings of James and his family, and the reader soon finds himself immersed in the sound of these remarkable voices, each so distinct. The high talk bubbles over the years; hidden laughter rises to the surface in family jokes, never quite dispelling the terrible cloud of illnesses, real and imagined, surrounding each life; and the circle of conversation widens to include the renowned of the world, as James' career as psychologist and philosopher flourishes. Mr. Allen's diligence has made it unnecessary for anyone else to map out the course of James' life in detail; here it is, and anyone interested in this central figure in the American past owes him a debt of thanks.

John J. McDermott's new anthology of the *Writings of William James* is

a good introduction to James (although since much of James is in paperback now, many may want to forego the expensive pleasures of a good \$15 introduction). The vast selection of pieces represents the diversity in James' thinking that most collections miss; there is a bibliography of James' writings, and a learned introduction that is rough sledding but provides a good account of James' ideas, particularly his changing ideas of consciousness. Mr. McDermott argues persuasively for the loose, rather than the strict, constitutional interpretation of James' thought, trying to grasp the total vision of this eclectic thinker, rather than tapping here and there at the logic to see if it rings hollow. He stresses James' relevance to diverse movements in thought today; to him James is a contemporary.

For me James is a contemporary, too; rereading him always has the shock of fresh experience, you are encountering a living mind. More than any philosopher before or since he comes close to talking about how most of us really think, which may be why philosophers sometimes dislike him. Many of his concerns still seem profoundly relevant: James the psychologist of thought on the wing, James the autobiographer of *Man Thinking*, James the metaphysician of the open universe, and James the modern, who saw, as Whitehead pointed out, the fundamental problem, "that every set of premises must indicate notions which are excluded from its own purview"—all of these aspects of the man's thought still speak to us. And yet there is a central aspect of James that seems to me irretrievably of the past; irretrievably, because James is dead, and this aspect was centered in his person, and his effect on audiences. It is the source of much of what looks to us today like obscurity and cant, for while James is rightly praised as a stylist, and it is true that to a remarkable extent he was able to approximate the charm

and ease of the spoken word, he is often difficult to understand, and the pleasant sounds are frequently drowning out extraordinary intellectual discords. James sometimes talks rubbish; this is alarming in a great mind. Charles Saunders Pierce, his friend, teacher, and critic, found it a perpetual source of dismay. Unlike subsequent critics, however, Pierce understood what James was up to.

James was one of the last of the 19th century American sages, and this is the aspect of his career and his thought that is most difficult for later generations to understand. As John Holloway has pointed out, the sage was a 19th century specialty: he embodied ideas about men's place in the world and how they should live. Against what many took to be the drift of the century, he defended the proposition that the moral life had meaning. The chief qualities of a sage were earnestness and a certain indefiniteness in his thought—a cryptic quality often seen in Emerson's double vision, where the one was reconciled with the many, the many with the one, and the result often double talk. The hearer of a sage needed a special sense of having lived through the experience that the sage was trying to convey.

Carlyle and Arnold and the other British sages emphasized the distinction between felt truth as against mere knowledge. Yet James came at a later time than the Victorians, and what he was engaged in was more radical, and more ambitious. As a popular figure, James was mediating deep contradictions in the culture, contradictions that his own life painfully embodied. Like Royce and other thinkers of what is often called the Golden Age of American philosophy, he was responding to a profound responsibility which, for a time, the philosophers thought they had inherited: which was to initiate genteel America into the modern world, and to calm its fears in the face of change. If they often sounded preachy and sentimental—James wryly spoke of his "squashy popular lecture style"—this reflected a conviction that a

vast, uneasy public was in need of priestly ministrations. William James was a serious philosopher, although his attention span was short when it came to matters of logic, but he was also committed to a distinctive set of social responsibilities; the roles were not incompatible, but whenever James had to choose between speaking as a philosopher and preaching as a sage, he did his duty to both his culture and his people.

He was peculiarly fitted for the role, for the time, and for the place. He was, as he often confessed, a splintered bundle of fragments in search of consistency, and private as they were, each fragment mirrored in an uncanny way the concerns of what became his public. Medicine had by and large failed people, and mind cures, spiritualists, and movements like Christian Science tempted them: they tempted James, too, whose health was a constant worry, his frailty and sickness making it dubious that he would ever be able to pursue a career — his life was filled with bouts of insomnia, digestive disorders, eye and back trouble, and depressions of the spirit bordering on the suicidal. There was a crisis of belief: the central concern of James' life was religion, a concern he inherited from his father, Henry James Senior, an arrant Swedenborgian with a vision of men participating in the Godhead through a redeemed human society. James shared his father's belief in belief, but not his faith. (On and off throughout his life, he tinkered with various varieties of theism, including the idea of a finite God.) He was an agnostic, and it is significant that his great work, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* is subtitled "a study in human nature." One of James' public roles was to toll troubled moderns into the churches, and many failed to notice that, like the bell, he remained outside. (As Santayana said, there was no security, no joy in James' apology for personal religion: "He did not really believe; he merely believed in the right of believing that you might be right if you believed.") He wanted to establish a cultural milieu in which the religious issue could be dealt with pluralistically; it was desperately important for him and his public to estab-

In the new issue of

DISSENT

A Major Study of American Foreign Policy

American Power in the 20th Century

by Michael Harrington

This 47-page article concentrates on such topics as imperialism and foreign aid; beyond the Cold War; prospects for a Democratic Foreign Policy

Also in this 160-page issue

Tom Kahn—*The Riots and the Radicals*

Walter Laqueur—*Reflections on the Third World*

Burton Feldman—*Susan Sontag's Counterrevolution*

P. K. Raina—*Poland: Intellectuals vs. the Party*

plus book reviews and other features

Now available at your local newsstand or paperback store or by sending us the form below:

DISSENT, 509 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

Enclosed please find \$1.00 for the September/October issue of **DisSENT**— (or, \$5.00 for a one-year subscription (6 issues) starting immediately).

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip Code _____

(please print)

NR

lish the fact that there were many roads to heaven, even if there was no heaven.

Part of James' uniqueness as a sage lay in his fascination with science. He was trained by Agassiz, the naturalist, and his only formal degree was an MD. Evolutionary science absorbed him, and through physiology he came to the new science of psychology. This interest in science and the use he made of it marks him as a very American sage. Quite early in his career he used Darwin to demolish Herbert Spencer's passive "spectator" theory of knowledge by emphasizing the mind's active role in the evolutionary process, selecting and adapting from the environment: "In other words, there belongs to the mind from its birth upwards, a spontaneity, a vote." Science itself, which seemed so threatening to the party of human feeling and moral values, could be used to confound the universes of the positivists, the determinists, and the philosophical absolutists. James' instinct that science could speak

with a human voice – or, in his grimmer formulations, that it left loopholes in its laws for the human spirit to escape through, was an important part of his sagely synthesis.

His famous antitheses were characteristic: he contrasted the "sick souls" in religion with the healthy-minded; and in philosophy there were the tough, as opposed to the tender-minded. It is perfectly plain that such antitheses were aspects of his own self, as well as reflecting divisions in his culture. He preached healthy-mindedness, often coming close to saying that wishing will make everything so, yet he was a sick soul, and knew the taste of despair. In a famous passage in *The Varieties of Religious Experience* he told of someone (later he admitted it was himself) whose melancholy took the form of a total state of panic, "a fear of my own existence," coming out of the darkness – "so invasive and powerful that if I had not clung to scripture texts. . . I think I should have grown really insane." Reading the French phi-

losopher Renouvier's argument for free will helped him – it was important for James to believe that he could sustain a thought whenever he chose, for that was evidence for a free will. "My first act of free will shall be to believe in free will."

The most important thing for him was the moral potential of a philosophical system that could mediate the conflicting elements of piety and materialism, hope and despair in his life and in the life of his culture. Philosophy was "the habit of always seeing an alternative, of not taking the usual for granted, of making conventionalities fluid again, of imagining foreign states of mind." And in a famous formulation in *Pragmatism*, he was speaking of himself when he said to his grateful audience:

"You want a system that will combine both things, the scientific loyalty to facts and the willingness to take account of them, the spirit of adaptation and accommodation, in short, but also the old confidence in human values and resultant spontaneity, whether of the religious or of the romantic type. And this then is your dilemma: you find the two parts of your quaesitum hopelessly separated. You find empiricism with inhumanism and irreligion; or else you find a rationalistic philosophy that indeed may call itself religious, but that keeps out of all definite touch with concrete facts and joys and sorrows."

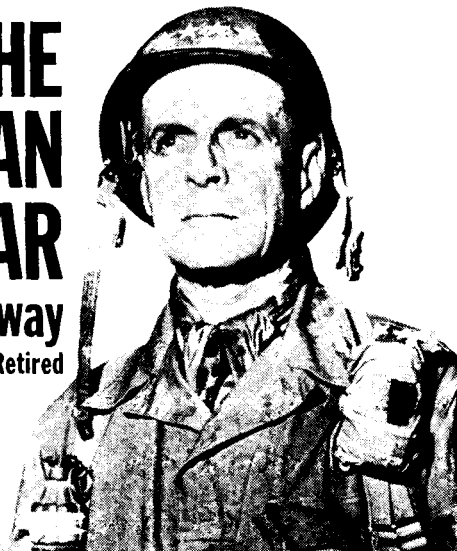
When he preached pragmatism, James was as aware as any of his critics that, as formulated, it was flawed. But to James, if not to his audience, the mediating role of his philosophy was more central than the pragmatic doctrine of truth (which in a *dissatisfied* way he was to tinker with the rest of his life.) James was living out a series of profound dilemmas which had philosophical relevance and could be put into formal philosophical terms: thus pragmatism had to agree with positivism and science in "its disdain for verbal solutions"; with nominalism "in always appealing to particulars," including the particulars of private human experience; and with utilitarian-

**"Unclear objectives." "Over-reliance on bombing."
"A misunderstood war." It was seventeen years ago...**

Now, the man who took command in 1950, when we were on the verge of disaster in Korea, tells his own story of that war. Of how we met the challenge. Of how all-out Asian war was averted. Of why MacArthur was dismissed. And, perhaps most importantly, of why *today's* war objectives must be limited. *Publishers' Weekly* calls it "remarkably lucid and uncluttered with military jargon . . . A highly interesting and important book." "It says most of the things that needed to be said," writes General S. L. A. Marshall, "and most soldiers (and other people) will be thankful for it."

**THE
KOREAN
WAR**
Matthew B. Ridgway
General, United States Army, Retired

\$6.95 at all booksellers
DOUBLEDAY



U.S. Army

ism "in emphasizing practical aspects."

James was interpreted by many as a defender of religion—although as so often happens the religious orthodox were quickest to see what he was really saying. He was arguing the view "that all our theories are *instrumental*, are mental modes of adaptation to reality, rather than revelations or gnostic answers to some divinely-instituted world-enigma." Religion was acceptable only if it confined itself to human experience.

The sage made fun of the ladies at Chautauqua, who sat on ideas like cows on doormats, and to whom he privately thought of proposing: "*Smooth out your voices, if you want to be saved.*" But he took them seriously. As John Dewey said, James' hearers "instinctively feel that here is a man who believes in something and whose belief is not professional and acquired, but personal and native; a man who believes so deeply in the importance of what he sees and reports that he is not satisfied until his readers also see and have their tone of belief and life modified." His power as a sage was personal, and now we can only capture glimmerings of what he meant to his genteel contemporaries. John Jay Chapman, the great individualist, said he relied on James' sanctity as though it were sunlight. And although Chapman like Justice Holmes was amused all his life by the spectacle of James, the debonair and ever so slightly raffish Irishman among the Brahmins in Boston and Cambridge, he saw that James' public needed him as a saint and a priest. Chapman pointed out that James had the gift of suggestion, not the gift of expression, and that "he said things which meant one thing to him and something else to the reader or listener." James' openness, his instant, almost savage sympathy, and his cheerful air of always being, comfortably, a visiting stranger wherever he was, prompted people to read their thoughts into him. To Chapman, the sage's public missed his deep, essential sadness; and even James' unhappy sickly sister Alice, who knew well enough about his fits of melancholy, looked into the sage's mirror and saw a man who seemed born anew every morning.

At the end of his life, he surveyed the

incomplete work, and spoke bravely as a philosopher: philosophy would one day be able to define the "limits of what the conceptual and logical method can accomplish and the parts of reality which escape treatment by fixed logical categories or concepts. I am quite sure that in establishing the inadequacy of concepts, the door will be opened to much vagueness and extravagance, and

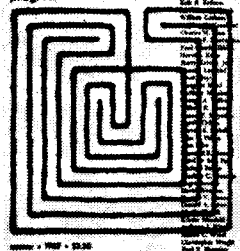
that possibly something like the excesses of the German romantic school of philosophy may be in the order of the day. That will doubtless be a pity and must be counted to the disadvantage of the movement. But it gives me very little anxiety, for I think that the final upshot and result will be a greater distinctness and clearness than philosophy has ever seen."

TOWARD THE YEAR 2000

DÆDALUS

JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

Toward the Year 2000:
work
in
progress



A report of
*The American Academy of Arts
and Science's Commission
on the Year 2000.*

*Twenty-seven outstanding
economists, political scientists,
biologists, sociologists, historians,
legal scholars, and psychologists
reflect in print for the first time
on possible futures.*

*Start your subscription to
DÆDALUS*

*with this bonus issue
which will come to you
FREE*

followed by

**AMERICA'S CHANGING
ENVIRONMENT,**

*a discussion of forthcoming changes
in our landscape and cities — what
these may mean to the economy
and to the individual, how to plan
to avert hazards which can only
multiply the nation's social problems.
The first volume to emerge from
the Academy's Project 1976.*

*Please send me my FREE copy of TOWARD THE YEAR 2000.
I enclose _____ for a _____ years' subscription to DÆDALUS.*

*One year \$6.50
Two years \$12.00*

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

_____ Zip code _____

*American Academy of Arts and Sciences
280 Newton Street Boston, Massachusetts 02146*

NR

A Primer for Survival

by Theodore Solotaroff

Alex Comfort is a remarkable English writer in whom the "two cultures" have come together in a sturdy, companionable, and fertile marriage. A biologist who publishes good fiction and poetry, a specialist in the problems of aging as well as of the erotic literature of India, a planner of a new "technology of the emotions" and an anarchist who writes lyrics for Pete Seeger, Mr.

The Nature of Human Nature
by Alex Comfort
(Harper & Row; \$5)

Comfort is a genuine man of parts: a C. P. Snow raised to the next power. Now, Mr. Comfort has brought these parts together in *The Nature of Human Nature*, one of the richest and most sane books that I have come upon in a good long time. Published this past summer in America and followed, as far as I can tell, by virtual silence, Mr.

Comfort's book deserves to be read by everyone who is seriously interested in the very open question of human survival.

Mr. Comfort comes forward to describe and to preach of the human situation in the name of what he calls "sociality" – the capacity of the human animal, "programmed" into his nature by the evolutionary process, to live in societies without tearing his fellows or himself apart. Part of the paradox of recent human development is that it has become both more and less human: we no longer hang children for theft; instead, we take out our aggressions by bombing them.

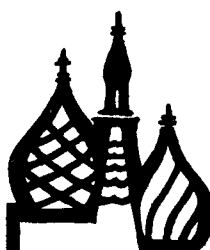
Against the background of the carnage of our century (some 50 million killed in WW II alone) the Enlightenment image of man as "a social animal liable to outbursts of irrational aggression" has given way to the image of "an irrationally aggressive animal liable to outburst of sociability." Moreover, whether he was an optimist or a pessimist, the 18th-century student of man was likely to believe in "higher" and "lower" faculties: man was a rational being, his intellect was the governor of his existence. Descartes' "Cogito, ergo sum" was more than a principle of philosophy; it summed up the existential position of the Enlightenment. The aggrandizement of reason and the distrust of irrational feelings may have been one reason why the intellectual life of the 18th century carried a groundnote of pessimism to the point of morbidity: think of Swift, Pope, or Johnson, for a start. Be that as it may, we have now begun to grasp the truth (though mostly to the extent of being impaled on it) that our animal nature is our basic part and that it is more interested in its creaturely needs than in being reasonable or virtuous. "The paradox still remains," to quote Mr. Comfort, "that while our culture traditionally views the life of the senses as 'lower' and antipathetic to the strenuous discomfort required by virtue, the facts all point the other way – to a correlation between the senses and our more be-

nevolent and social face, and between repression and denial of the senses and our more murderous side."

According to Mr. Comfort, the axial line from ape to man involves the conversion of sexuality into social behavior. A character in Aldous Huxley's *Point Counterpoint* wondered what human society would be like if its females had rutting periods like most of the other mammals. Mr. Comfort believes that the development of human life depended upon the transformation of the estrous cycle into more or less continuous sexual receptivity; this was the first step in socializing the reproductive function and creating the rudimentary family unit that is found among the higher primates, such as the gorilla and gibbon, and not among the lower, such as the baboon where the estrous cycle is still present. By providing an expression of "togetherness," as well as play and sensory pleasure, continuous female receptivity enabled mating rather than merely reproduction and male dominance. The purely biological characteristics that trigger reproduction began to be replaced by habits and conventions, a process of regulation that is completed in all human societies that we know about.

The second major development among the higher primates is the extended period of parental dependence. Mr. Comfort conjectures that long before fathers and sons in the "primal horde" could have competed for the same women, as Freud suggested, the "evolutionary demon" pushed forward the sexual feelings and fears of puberty into the earlier phase of psychosexual development where they cemented the maternal (socializing) relationship; also it postponed the onset of puberty – both physiologically and emotionally – for a period long enough to enable the young to develop within the family matrix. This was accompanied by purely social controls, or taboos, that reinforced the repression of sexual feelings during the latency period.

Comfort's hypothesis throws a powerful light on the regulation of sexuality by social conventions, and, conversely, on the erotic and anti-erotic character of our sociality. One consequence of this is the problematic nature of human sexuality; the anxiety



D. H. STEWART
Mikhail Sholokhov
A CRITICAL INTRODUCTION

Mikhail Sholokhov is the only major Soviet author whose reputation abroad equals his reputation at home. The Soviet Union has honored him with two Lenin prizes, and he received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1965.

In this, the first extensive study of Sholokhov in English, D. H. Stewart carefully assesses the literary value of Sholokhov's work, always bearing in mind the problems of an author limited by a political system. The major portion of critical attention is devoted to Sholokhov's novel, *The Quiet Don*, on which his world reputation rests.

\$8.00

The UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS
ANN ARBOR



bred and sustained by repression, the displacement, diffusion, and deviation of sexual interest from its proper biological objectives, the difficulties and dangers of laying animal nature at the mercy of social controls, some of which are themselves the product of repression. At the same time, the funding of the unconscious with the explosive content of infantile sexuality may have had the further adaptive function, Mr. Comfort conjectures, of restructuring our mental processes to provide for conceptual, as distinct from perceptual thought. By the same token, the "loose" sexual feelings of man have both fertilized other areas of his life and also devastated them. For inside the head of the recondite physicist lies the previous programming of the evolutionary process, large sections of which he shares not only with a present-day Australian aborigine but with Peking Man. Indeed, the dominance-patterns of our primate baboon days are still visible in the congressional cloak-room and the executive suite, while our nuclear missiles and doomsday machines are the old war gods of the caves newly enshrined in the Pentagon.

We are strange creatures, capable of virtually controlling the environment and yet subject to a degree of irrationality unknown in any other form of primate life. In Kafkaesque fashion, Mr. Comfort describes the mental processes of a modern man in whom, "as it were, directives and messages come to the Head Office from a clandestine department that the staff do not realize is there, with its own logic, its own aims, and the solidified inner attitudes of a child of three."

The middle section of *The Nature of Human Nature* deals with our evolution under the aspects of work and technology, human variability, population and food supply, hazards and enemies. Mr. Comfort's intention is not only to fill in the picture of what man and his behavior look like from the perspective of an enlightened biologist, but, more urgently, to point up his thesis that "our intellectual development and technical abilities as a species have outstripped our means of social and emotional expression." The most ominous lag is between food supply and population growth. In Ceylon, for example, malaria has been virtually

abolished in the past five years: this has immediately halved the death rate, which means that unless birth control is instituted it will double the birth rate every thirty years. The so-called Great Powers have the resources to introduce workable methods of contraception and to develop new sources of food. Meanwhile, though, their expertise and wealth are allocated mainly to perfecting and distributing man's age-old technique of population control. As Mr. Comfort observes: "It requires no social conscience, only the foresight for lack of which the French aristocracy lost their elegant but unemployed heads, to see that . . . our underfed fellow-men will not starve to provide us with two-pound steaks." From the biological perspective, be-

neath the ideological frenzies of China today lies a desperate quest for protein, which our technology is already prepared to produce in abundance from the sea.

Technology has freed man from much back-breaking labor, but again the methods for constructively reemploying him are not yet of much interest to our leaders. Tool-making has been programmed into human nature, and the denial or perversion of the desire to be employed breeds the destructive behavior recently displayed in such places as Detroit and Newark or the self-destructive behavior of the Madison Avenue executive trying to find still another image that will keep people smoking cigarettes. Or again, mod-

SEND THIS BOOK TO LBJ*
(It's less expensive than a telegram)

VIETNAM THE LOGIC OF WITHDRAWAL

By Howard Zinn

**"A SUPERB ANALYSIS . . . AND
A QUITE UNANSWERABLE ARGUMENT"**

Frederick Schuman, Woodrow Wilson Prof. of Govt., Williams College

ALREADY IN ITS FOURTH PRINTING!

* "HOWARD ZINN, PROF. OF GOVT. AT BOSTON UNIV. WHO SERVED AS A BOMBARDIER IN WORLD WAR II, HAS WRITTEN A SPEECH FOR LYNDON JOHNSON WHICH, IF HE DELIVERED IT, WOULD MAKE THE PRESIDENT ONE OF THE GREAT MEN OF HISTORY, IN MY OPINION . . ."

Wes Lawrence, Book Editor, Cleveland Plain Dealer,
referring to the final chapter of the book.

BEACON PRESS 25 Beacon St., Boston 02108

Please send _____ copies of the paperback **VIETNAM: THE LOGIC OF WITHDRAWAL** (@ \$1.25) and/or _____ copies of the hardcover edition (@ \$4.95).
Payment enclosed.

Name _____

Street _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

ern society has lengthened the life-span but shortened its productive years. Hence, we are already creating a generation of the prematurely retired. If you wish to see what this aspect of the future could be like, I recommend a walk along Broadway from 72nd to 96th Streets in New York on a warm Sunday when the walking dead on the benches form block-by-block islands of boredom and pathos.

In sum, we have rationalized human life beyond our present means to sustain it and, increasingly, to endure it without dismemberment of the human

and the animal in man. Mr. Comfort's analysis of and remedy for the destructive and self-destructive effects of taking man out of "the tight private social context of the small one-track society" comes to a climax in his final two chapters, the most brilliant in the book. What he wishes us to see and treat before it is too late are the methods of our madness: built-in by the love-hate structure of child-rearing, exacerbated by the modern denials and frustrations of our creaturely needs, and powerfully amplified by our modes of social organization and control.

Primitive societies appear to have provided better for man's emotional life than ours do. They coped with the unconscious or "dream time" by means of myth and ritual, religion and art, which provided a release of the darker feelings. (Mr. Comfort, for example, gives a startling Freudian reading of the Yoruba myth that a man's troubles are sent by the ghost of his grandmother.) Modern society offers the ritual of psychoanalysis; otherwise we are commanded to be mature and go our tight-lipped way. Thus, against the primitive's willingness to feel and admit unpleasant mental sensations, we have the modern executive "who likes to look busy and stressed (to prove his efficiency) but not to look anxious (which implies that he is falling down on the job) and who might be fired if he burst into tears." Our "convention" of desperation is suicide; short of that, our death instinct is transmitted in the social fabric where it takes over and energizes even our more constructive beliefs and attitudes for irrational ends, such as bombing the Vietnamese in order to live up to our commitments to them and to the cause of freedom, self-determination, and peace.

Short of psychoanalyzing everyone, then, what do we do about the irrationality of man; how can we redirect his built-in capacity for sociality? Mr. Comfort's answer follows from his analysis of the genesis of human nature: "the eroticization of experience and society." This is not a novel solution: it is the libertarian extension of Freud that has been adumbrated by other thinkers such as Herbert Marcuse, Norman O. Brown, Paul Goodman, Edgar Z. Friedenberg. It is being enacted these days by young people in Haight-Ashbury and the East Village, where religion in its original archetypal sense, art, work, sexuality, and play — "the materials for the further emotional and social evolution of Man," according to Mr. Comfort — are forming a new *Gestalt* of human sociality. From some of its behavior, particularly the use of drugs, Mr. Comfort would dissociate himself: he is interested in the discharge of emotion that would enable us to be more rational and realistic rather than in the pursuit of kicks, which he regards as merely the mirror image of the repressions of

you're thinking . . .
about Christmas gifts, aren't you?
something lasting . . . something different . . . something
to be appreciated . . .

Have you ever considered 48 issues of

THE NEW REPUBLIC

This is a truly rewarding gift and it *does* arrive 48 weeks a year. For whom? For almost anybody. Girl students, boy students, professors, husbands, wives, politicians, lawyers, doctors, rebels (young and old), liberals (old and young), aunts, uncles, cousins, culturists, connoisseurs, cognoscenti, clergymen . . . your "problem" is in there somewhere.

All right. Did you notice the reply envelope bound into this issue? Special gift rates, substantial savings on two or more gifts.

More. Your gift will be announced by a handsome gift card, and your name will be handwritten on it.

The attached envelope is at the ready. Send it today. The subscription will start at Christmas-time.

INVIGORATING READING ALL YEAR LONG

our Puritanism. But whether in previous theory or present practice, I have not seen the case for erotic libertarianism made with the hardheaded wisdom of Mr. Comfort's closing pages.

Like any radical program, particularly one that wishes to enlighten us about human possibilities rather than plan our immediate lives, Mr. Comfort's ideas will seem impractical. All right, go eroticize Kansas, you may say. But his ideas are not so much programmatic as consequential: this is what follows, he is saying, from what we

know of the history of the primates on this planet. This is also what we know if we pay attention to the babbling of the ape and the aborigine in our heads and to the little moments of crisis when we can hear the doomsday machine ticking away inside each of us.

Between the institutional mind and the apocalyptic one—between, let us say, Dean Rusk and Norman Mailer—we founder from one form of hysteria to the other. If you're looking for sanity, *The Nature of Human Nature* is what you've been looking for.

Life With Father

by Alex Campbell

Napoleon provided his relatives with thrones; Stalin put his in prison or had them shot. Neither autocrat thought much of his family (though both revered their mothers) but Bonaparte's bungling Corsican kin were presumably less maddening than Stalin's Georgian in-laws, the gabby Alliluyevs and Svanidzes. Stalin's daughter's book is mainly a family chronicle, and reveals

Twenty Letters to a Friend
by Svetlana Alliluyeva
(Harper & Row; \$5.95)

that the late Soviet dictator suffered a squalid home life: scarcely a surprising find. Mrs. Alliluyeva—in the period of de-Stalinization, and after three husbands, she prefers using her mother's maiden name—tries very hard to put

most of the blame for Stalinism on Beria, Stalin's top cop whom Stalin's successors shot. But she is chiefly concerned with deaths in the family rather than with Stalin's other victims. What emerges from her fairly artless tale is that his relatives greatly irritated her father, and that this was a fatally foolish thing to do.

Svetlana herself was Stalin's darling until her late teens, his little housekeeper. He begged her to order him about and called himself her "wretched Secretary, the poor peasant J. Stalin." Nevertheless, he packed her first lover off to forced labor in a coal mine, after a typical scene in the Kremlin:

"'Love!' screamed my father, with a hatred of the very word I can scarcely convey. And for the first time in my life he slapped me across the face, twice. 'Just look, nurse, how low she's sunk!' He could no longer restrain himself. 'Such a war going on, and she's busy the whole time - - - - - !' Unable to find any other expression, he used the coarse peasant word."

However, the year was 1943, most of Russia that was, not slums was now ruins, Svetlana was only 17 and her lover was forty. Moreover, Stalin's children including Svetlana (and her lover) were spending much of their time at the family dacha outside Moscow, in what she calls "an atmosphere of drunkenness and debauchery"; after packing off the aging lover, Stalin

Must Cambodia Be Next?

As background for extending the land war into Cambodia, South Vietnamese General Cao Van Vien repeats unsupported U. S. charges that Cambodia is a sanctuary for North Vietnamese and the Vietcong. (NY Times, Aug. 11, 1967)

Americans Want to Know sponsored an American mission, made up of the following distinguished citizens: KAY BOYLE, DONALD DUNCAN, RUSSELL JOHNSON AND FLOYD McKISSICK, to investigate the earlier U.S. charges.

• Their report—

2nd Printing

IS CAMBODIA NEXT?

is both revealing and timely, as many have testified:

Lord Bertrand Russell—Americans Want to Know has led the way with their exhaustive and conscientious enquiry and I hope the booklet, *IS CAMBODIA NEXT?* will serve to alert Americans to the atrocious consequences of American policy in Cambodia.

Vern Countryman—... the indictment is the more disturbing because it has not, to my knowledge, received the direct reply from the government which it deserves.

W. H. Ferry—If opinion rallies in time, there is a possibility that the conflict can be kept from spreading to Viet Nam's neighbors and ultimately to the world. *Is Cambodia Next?* is indispensable to an adequate rallying ... against such an escalation.

Felix Greene—This small book mercilessly exposes some of the official falsifications that are leading us steadily towards disaster in S.E. Asia. What the book tells us rings true and it should be read by all those who want to face the realities of our predicament rather than evade them.

Ashley Montagu—... a document which all Americans who are seriously concerned about the future of their country must read, reflect upon, and do what is required of them—particularly at the next elections.

Carl Oglesby—... basic reading for those who want to know the real story behind tomorrow's forthcoming headlines.

Senator Wayne Morse gave the Mission a send-off: "Many of us hope that Cambodia can yet be saved from the fate of South Vietnam, North Vietnam, Laos, and Thailand. I commend these Americans for their effort to preserve the truth in a welter of nationalism, jingoism, and flag-waving."

You and your public library will each want a copy of *Is Cambodia Next?* Distribute it through organizations. Place it in several libraries. Show it to friends.

48 pages with pictures and a map
One dollar a copy. Ten or more at 75¢.
100 or more at 50¢.

RUSSELL PRESS
1814 Ingleside Terrace, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20010

No. of Copies Encl. \$

Name.....

Address.....

City.....

State..... Zip.....

COMING

An English Hoelderlin
by Stephen Spender

Movies: Fall Crop
by Pauline Kael

Time and Adlai Stevenson
by Gerald W. Johnson

closed the dacha down, "because . . . we'd turned it into a den of iniquity."

One of Stalin's sons, Yakov, had been captured by the Germans, who shot him. His other son, Vasily, was a hopeless alcoholic on a big government expense-account, with "an enormous staff, a stable and kennels. . . . No privilege was denied him." The dictator had, perhaps, some reason to be fed up with such family members as had survived the bloody thirties, the period when his second wife killed herself and of which his and her daughter remarks: "People shot themselves fairly often in those days." Ten years later, country villas and corrupting luxury had become all the rage among the Bolshevik leaders, despite the ravages of war. In vain did Stalin lecture the family: "Apartments, dachas, cars — don't think they're yours! It doesn't any of it belong to you!" They knew better and

went on enjoying themselves, while widowed papa lived in one bare room with a bed-sofa, and continued wearing a squirrel-and-reindeer coat that dated all the way back to 1917.

Even before luxury corrupted them, one easily gathers that they were a trying lot. There was Uncle Fyodor, who had gone off his head in the Civil War and squabbled incessantly with Yakov, who didn't get along with Vasily and whose wife bickered with Stalin's father-in-law and mother-in-law, who bickered constantly with each other. Other ingredients in the family stew were Aunt Anna, Stalin's sister-in-law, and Uncle Alexander and Uncle Pavel. Stalin had Uncle Alexander shot; Alexander's wife, in prison, dropped dead on hearing the news. Uncle Pavel also dropped dead, in his office, on returning from a vacation at the seaside to find "that everyone of

his colleagues had disappeared . . . as though the place had been swept by a broom." Aunt Anna was imprisoned, and her husband, a secret policeman, was shot.

"You're probably worn out by now, my friend, with the countless deaths I've been telling you about," remarks Mrs. Alliluyeva at about this point. "Did I know a single person whose life turned out well? It was as though my father were at the center of a black circle and anyone who ventured inside vanished or perished or was destroyed in one way or another." Still, Aunt Anna with remarkable if belated generosity did not think it was all Stalin's fault. "Now they're blaming everything on Stalin," she said when his successors finally let her out of jail. "But he didn't have an easy time either. We know his life wasn't easy. It wasn't as simple as all that. Think of all the time he spent in Siberia. We mustn't forget that. And we mustn't forget the good things he did!"

Mrs. Alliluyeva says of Beria and the secret police: "The one thing they wanted was to grab as much as they could for themselves. They all built themselves country houses and drove government cars and lived like ministers and even members of the Politburo" — an accusation that says more than she perhaps intended when she wrote those words in 1963. To retain and increase their power the secret policemen had to uncover more plots against her father, which meant more and more victims. The Tsars' secret policemen had done exactly the same. Stalinism was Tsardom writ large, with men like Beria and Lysenko in Rasputin's sandals, and with alcoholism and schizophrenia replacing the Romanovs' tendencies to hemophilia and apoplexy. Tsar Nicholas "in his lonely eminence came more and more to identify law with his own will, and the interests of Russia with his policies of the moment." The charge against Nicholas made by the Professor of Russian History at the University of London applies as well or better to Stalin. Mrs. Alliluyeva perceives this, but is less concerned with politics than with Little Papa and the Aunts and Uncles. It is as if Ophelia had survived to write her version of the tragic history of Hamlet.

A shocking study of five girls
trapped in the quagmire of the urban slum—
adrift between the corrupting streets and
the relative safety of prison — abandoned
by the very society that formed them

THE CROSS OF LASSITUDE

PORTRAITS OF FIVE DELINQUENTS

By Joan Colebrook

\$5.95 • now at better bookstores

ALFRED • A • KNOFF 

Correspondence

How Many Unemployed?

Sirs:

The apparent point of the item "How Many Unemployed?" (September 30) is that the Department of Labor is deliberately concealing the facts of unemployment in the slums.

It is enough to comment on this one statement: "Special job surveys were conducted in neighborhoods within eight selected cities late in 1966, but the Labor Department prefers not to bruit this information about." (Emphasis added.)

The facts—if you care—are that we put 2,000 people into these slum areas for two weeks last November to get the real picture of unemployment there; that I held a special press conference in Washington on March 15 (with similar conferences being held in the various survey cities that same week) to announce the results of these surveys; that we set out the detailed results of these surveys, including an average 34.9 percent subemployment rate, in a series of printed reports; that a total of 30,000 reports were printed and 28,000 distributed; that this information was included in my 1967 Manpower Report to the Congress; and that I invited *NR*'s Editor-in-Chief, a valued friend, to lunch in my office for the specific purpose of emphasizing the implications of these surveys (an invitation he graciously accepted).

Is there an alternative to the conclusion that *NR* has abandoned the truth in its effort to fabricate the libel that those of us who believe deeply in defending freedom in Vietnam have lost our sense of values at home? Whose credibility is it that is properly im-

peached here? Is it that your case is so strong that it justifies false reporting, or so uncertain that it depends on it?

Twenty-five years of grateful reading of *NR* contributed to my pride, three years ago, in the opportunity to salute the Editors of *NR* at its Fiftieth Anniversary: "Free minds need testing by free minds, by critics who are not common scolds. . . ."

Willard Wirtz
Secretary of Labor

Grants for Science

Sirs:

The last sentence of your article on the refusal of the National Science Foundation to renew a two-year grant to Stephen Smale for basic research in mathematics ("Political Science," September 30) expressed the opinion that: "Other than writing a few letters, it is unlikely they [the scientists] will risk going after NSF because of Smale."

I took this sentence as a personal insult, and an insult to the integrity of the scientific community. Within a few days after the NSF action became known, many scientists wrote to NSF not just to protest but to state categorically that they would not cooperate with NSF projects, nor accept NSF grants until the matter was settled in a manner satisfactory to the scientific community. For instance, Gary Broton reports in *The Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, September 20, that 26 ranking faculty members at the University of Pennsylvania signed a pledge which read: "Unless there is an acceptable explanation for the rejection of Stephen Smale's contract application, the undersigned cannot accept for personal use any funds from NSF." Each pledge sheet also said: "Signing this page is not an expression of opinion. It is a pledge." Note parenthetically that according to the *Evening Bulletin*, even President Harnwell of the University of Pennsylvania signed a statement that he would "protest personally" to NSF if it developed that "a competent individual" has been denied NSF support for political reasons.

I have personal knowledge of many professors who have written letters. In my own case, I already gave up my NSF grant last year because of ridic-

BOOK HUNTING?

ANY BOOK LOCATED! No matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! Write to—Dept. NEW

BOOKS-ON-FILE

Union City, New Jersey 07087

file-drawer table

16 1/2"x22 1/2"x28" h.

Why buy an ordinary end table . . . when you can have this handsome piece of furniture that doubles as a COLONIAL file chest, too! Now you can keep your valuable papers orderly, accessible . . . in a drawer deep enough for standard alphabetical guides, long enough for the accumulation of years. Handmade with antiqued hardware . . . dovetailed drawers ride on nylon glides. SPECIFY: 1 FILE DRAWER AND 2 SINGLE DRAWERS OR 2 FILE DRAWERS. A gift your efficient friend or husband will adore you for.



MODERN

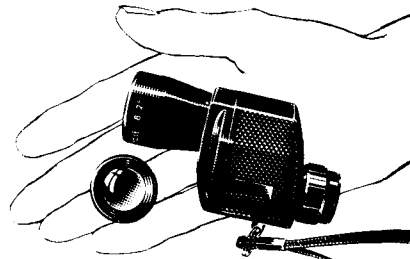
Colonial style (or Modern if specified)	
KNOTTY PINE unfinished	\$31.95
Pine finish	\$33.95
TUPELO WOOD unfinished	\$36.95
Finished in Maple, Mahogany, Walnut	\$38.95
(Add \$3 Legal Size—18 1/2"x22 1/2"x28" h.)	
DIRECT FROM OUR WORKSHOP TO YOU	

Prompt shipment. Express charges collect.
Satisfaction guaranteed. Send check or money order.

Jeff Elliot Craftsmen

DEPT. NR-107 STATESVILLE, NO. CAROLINA 28677

Hold The World In Your Palm..with



M. V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM \$16.95

So startlingly different are the design and performance of the M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM that you won't really believe it until you see it and use it yourself. ■ With its standard objective the M.V. is an 8x wide-angle (8.2°), 24mm monocular telescope—more powerful than most field glasses and binoculars. For an even larger field, just quick-change objectives and you have a 6x, super-wide-angle (11°), 18mm telescope. ■ The prismatic, fully coated optics are of the same uncompromising quality that you expect from the finest Japanese cameras—crispness, brilliance and complete planarity. ■ As an added bonus, the objectives may be used as 3x and 5x wide-field magnifier/loupes, of unexcelled definition and clarity. ■ Weight 3 3/4 ozs., length only 3 1/2". Comes with handstrap and soft, flat, zippered case that fits snugly in gentleman's pocket or lady's purse.

—INSTANT ORDER BLANK—

HAVERHILL'S, 526 Washington, San Francisco, 94111

☐ Send the MIYAUCHI M.V. MINISCOPE SYSTEM w/case & exchange objectives. Satisfaction, or refund guaranteed. Check for \$16.95 plus \$1 for post. & ins. encl. (Calif. resid. add 5% tax.)

☐ Bill Amer. Exp. Acct. # _____

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

TNR1014

Phone (415) 981-5688

Haverhill's

REPRINTS AVAILABLE

THE NEW REPUBLIC

The Primary School Revolution in Britain

A Report by Joseph Featherstone

- I. Schools for Children
- II. How Children Learn
- III. Teaching Children to Think

*with an introduction by the author for
American teachers and administrators*

*Joseph Featherstone's
report on*

The Primary School Revolution in Britain

Schools for Children (NR Aug. 19)

How Children Learn (NR Sept. 2)

Teaching Children to Think
(NR Sept. 9)

1 copy 50 cents each
2-10 copies 40 cents each
11-100 copies 25 cents each

This 16-page reprint includes a
special introduction by the author
addressed to teachers and
administrators

Order from
THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 - 19th St., N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

ulous and obnoxious accounting requirements by the Bureau of the Budget, and thus regret that I did not have a grant any more to give up on this occasion. However, I have written to the Director of NSF to state that I would refuse to referee any more grants. Other Columbia University professors have also written that they would not accept NSF support unless the situation is resolved in a manner compatible with scientific and academic standards and values, and that they would refuse to cooperate with other NSF projects, giving specific instances of such projects to which they had previously committed themselves.

At the moment, the universities are more and more dependent on government financing. It is therefore supremely important that our administrators take great care to represent properly academic interests, and the standards and values which have been ours in the past. Unfortunately, they appear to be failing in this. The threat to unfettered academic support does not only lie in certain pressures in the government, but also in the inadequate reactions of so many administrators, and inadequate representation of the academic position. The NSF in the Smale case acted in a manner which is spineless, uninformed, and stupid. It looks as if the administrators have passed the buck to the professorial grass roots, in this and other cases. It is all the more important for the professors to stand up and defend vigorously our academic traditions.

Serge Lang
Department of Mathematics
Columbia University

The New Economics

Sirs:

TRB usually knows what he is talking about, and typically is not taken in by the soothsayers. But his report that "The New Economics Works" (September 30) is hogwash. With the federal government spending 80 percent of its budget on national defense, and with most private investment linked with this type of expenditure, it is little wonder that we have had 80 months of "prosperity." The great advantage of military production is that it eliminates

the problem of distribution of the output. Even "old" economists, like Adam Smith, Ricardo and John Stuart Mill, would have agreed that there is no need for recessions in our type of economy. Let's try the same model without the military expenditure, however, and see if Congress will appropriate funds for peace-time production in this proportion. Then we can judge whether the "new economics" works or not. It does not take a Keynes, Samuelson, Tobin or Ackley to convince me that a war-time economy can boom; as TRB says, "there was an 80-month expansion spanning WWII." The "old" economics works, too!

John P. Henderson
Department of Economics
Michigan State University

Lost New York

Sirs:

Since I am living abroad I just caught up with Stanley Kauffmann's August 19 review of my book, *Lost New York*. Somehow Mr. Kauffmann didn't get the point of the book at all. In discussing New York's vanished buildings he says he was never fond of Penn Station or the old Met; it appears he believes the new skin on the old Times Square is an improvement; he thinks the Astor wasn't a fine hotel. In the first place there are various errors and mistaken assumptions in his arguments. For example, Penn Station's steel vaulting wasn't "essential" because of steam engines, unlike the British examples I cited; even if it was, Mr. Kauffmann's suggestion that the train shed was merely practical wouldn't have made it any less beautiful. Truly, as he says, the great vaults got filthy. But all buildings do (weather/atmosphere/age is part of a building's *chiaroscuro*, which puts architecture one up on most sculpture if it's effects he wants to talk about). It is absurd for Mr. Kauffmann to suggest waiting and seeing Penn's replacement before criticizing. The new scheme was published years ago - and *the station just isn't being replaced*.

On the Met: I have spent many evenings there (I still hang onto my Friday night subscription) and only had real audience trouble on the occasions when I stood against the side walls. If I com-

pare the old Met with the European opera houses I know, I recall that, from the opera-goer's point of view, the Met's only faults derived from the fact that it held far more people than other opera houses. A few bad seats (so marked on the tickets) were more than a fair exchange for that, I believe. As for the performing difficulties, I give Mr. Kauffmann my solemn word as an architect that operational problems at the Met could have been solved at a tenth of the cost of building the new house, no matter what the "Met company's opinion." (Anyway the real issue—as I said in *Lost New York* and which Mr. Kauffmann ignored—was whether the placing of Official Culture in one big center should be used as the excuse for scrapping cultural institutions distributed through the city.)

The question of opinion is really the main problem raised by Mr. Kauffmann's review. Where survival is concerned, it's small beer to quibble about how pretty or ugly or useful or useless one thinks certain buildings are. The Met Company's opinions, Mr. Kauffmann's opinions, my opinions may have been worth an argument when the buildings continued to exist and to affect our lives, but now the arguments are as gratuitous as art criticism at Savonarola's picture pyre or personal cracks about the corpse at a wake. The photographs in my book are nothing but souvenirs. When the walls come tumbling down, the sole critical problem is: were there some who loved that thing? If Penn Station gets a bad notice from Mr. Kauffmann (he ought to read the nasty things Louis Sullivan said about it), it once used to stagger me and Thomas Wolfe (quoted in the book). The futility and irrelevance of conventional art-historical criticism under these circumstances is what impressed me by the remarks I heard at the Columbia exhibition which I described in my preface (quoted by Mr. Kauffmann): that most visitors surprisingly assumed I was arguing for the justice and worthiness of preservation not for the sake of *beauty*, but for the sake of *the past*. Far from derogating this, as Mr. Kauffmann thinks, I'm convinced it's the right idea. . . .

I want to clear up one more thing in Mr. Kauffmann's review because it is such a wild distortion of my own state-

ments. Of course a city "cannot be preserved in amber"; I suggested the opposite by discussing how concern for continuity and change are equal parts of a planner's job. But even though change is vital, it's naïve to assume—and I gather that this is what really conditions Mr. Kauffmann's thinking—that continuity obstructs it. There is a group at the Cambridge School of Architecture (the *Centre for Land Use and Built Form Studies*) which is specifically concerned with challenging conventional assumptions about urban geography. By clever design and topological mathematics they have found, among other things, that every household in England in the year 2,000 could have a house, a garden and a car on a third of the urban land used at present. Such studies don't mean that present cities must disappear, it means they can be saved to enrich the future. A city's "responding to economic and social forces" doesn't require that we forget about the thrift of conservation or the sensibility of continuity in order to build for evolving human needs. We

can have these things, and pleasant nostalgia too; that is, as soon as we make ourselves pay attention to how we want those energies of economics and society directed.

Nathan Silver
Cambridge University

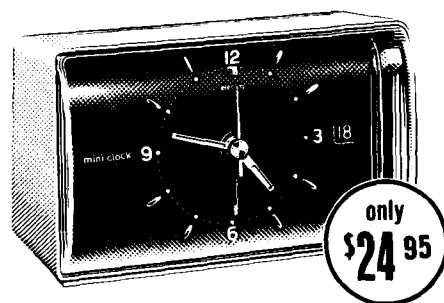
In reply:

Mr. Silver says I didn't get the point of his book. To make it worse, I don't get the point of his letter.

What does he mean—Penn Station isn't being replaced? That it's not being duplicated? Most of the new building's exterior is now up, and speaking only as a citizen, not as architectural expert, I am certainly happy to have it as part of my environment in place of the tumescent mausoleum that preceded it. Just compare this new structure with the Post Office across the way, a companion piece to the old Penn Station.

As to the Met: a "few" bad seats? Including those with dead sound, a partial view of the stage, or else a full view of pillars? A "few"? I accept Mr. Silver's assurance that a tenth of the

SOME PEOPLE WILL THINK YOU'RE CUCKOO TO PAY \$25 FOR "JUST" A CLOCK



They're the same people who don't mind living with "the approximate" time or walking into a Five-and-Dime every six months to buy another new \$8.95 wind-up tick-tock.

Also, this clock is not "just" a clock. It is a most elegant tabletop timepiece from West Germany with the following attributes:

There is the calendar. When you wake, you'll know what day it is! (This sometimes comes in handy!) Around back you will see no handle for winding . . . no cord for plugging-in. An ordinary flashlight battery powers the mechanisms—for a good year or more. When it begins to lose its juice, red appears under the number "12". Now, about the alarm. It's not the alarming kind. Just effective. Reveille begins with four short but insistent signals. If you don't shut off the alarm, there will follow a continuous bzzzzzzzz that would stir Rip Van Winkle.

Furthermore, this timepiece is in excellent taste. Quite handsome. Designed to "go" anywhere. You will think so, too. The works of this TwelveMonth Clock are so precise and perfect that you can adjust it to within two seconds of being on-the-dot every 24 hours. It's a rare wristwatch that can time itself to such a fine degree. The usual Haverhill's 10-day money-back Guarantee applies (if you are not impressed in every way). Beyond that, there is the Manufacturer's Warranty covering parts and workmanship. This extends over a full year. So if you can afford to indulge your appreciation of fine

Haverhill's goes to the ends of the earth to bring you the finest things. This Diehl TwelveMonth Clock is no exception.

things, this indeed is the timepiece that should bid you "Good Morning" each day. This is also a pretty wonderful gift to a son and daughter with early morning classes.

--- NO TIME LIKE THIS TIME ---

Mail to: HAVERHILL'S
526 Washington St.,
San Francisco, Calif. 94111 TNR1014

Please send me the Diehl TwelveMonth Clock.
Satisfaction or refund guaranteed.

☐ I enclose check for \$24.95 plus \$1.00 for postage and insurance.
(California residents add 5% sales tax.)

☐ Bill AmExp. Acct. # _____

Name _____

Address _____

Zip _____

© 1966 **Haverhill's**

Searching the World to bring you the Finest

new Met's cost would have solved the operational problems of the old Met, but he says *not one word* in his book about the old Met's having any problems. I agree that centralizing culture is silly, but to suggest, as he does in the book, that the old Met might have served as a *Redoutensaal* or a Glyndebourne is to suggest that old battle-ships should not be scrapped, they can always be used as boarding launches.

The interested reader can look at the

cited paragraph in Mr. Silver's preface (too long to quote again here) and decide whether or not it is ambiguous.

And talk about "wild distortion"! I did *not* say that the new skin on the Times Tower is an improvement; I said that Mr. Silver's reasons for opposing any change of the Tower were questionable. I did *not* say that continuity obstructs change; I said — three times, in different ways — that the architect's task is to make "some lucid statements that will safeguard the valuable past without hamstringing the future." I'm happy to hear about the Cambridge group that is making such statements. I wish we had such guidance in Mr. Silver's book.

What it comes down to, at last, is, as he says, a matter of opinion. I think that some of the buildings he mourns — e.g. Penn Station, the Ziegfeld Theatre, the Bank of America — are happily gone. To judge by his photographs, Mr. Silver seems to think that almost everything that once was up ought to have been kept. Anyone who agrees with his thesis of balanced continuity (and my review makes ultra-clear that I agree) will be disappointed that his book does not give us much guidance in carrying it out.

Stanley Kauffmann
New York, N. Y.

RFK in Utica

Sirs:

I must dispute your September 30 statement, "At no point can one trace any effort to reform the local Democratic Party to any member of the Kennedy family." In June 1967, Senator Robert F. Kennedy gave his personal endorsement to a Utica, N.Y., Democrat engaged in a mayoral primary battle with long entrenched local bosses. The issue was the revitalization of the local Democratic Party. In addition to his public endorsement, the Senator provided direct help in the assistance and advice of his aide and Upstate Representative, Mr. Jerry Bruno. The primary was won and Senator Kennedy will appear personally in Utica on October 16th to campaign for the same candidate's election in November.

Wilma Sinnott
Utica, N. Y.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Act of October 23, 1962: Section 4369, Title 39, United States Code.)

1. Date of Filing: Sept. 28, 1967.
2. Title of Publication: *The New Republic*.
3. Frequency of Issue: Weekly (except the last week in July, the second and fourth weeks in August and the last week in December).
4. Location of known office of publication: 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
5. Location of the General Business offices of the publishers: 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
6. Names and Addresses of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor: Publisher: Garth Hite, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Editor-in-Chief: Gilbert A. Harrison, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036. Managing Editor: Alex Campbell, 1244 19th Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. 20036.
7. Owner: Name: Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc., c/o United States Corp., 15 Exchange Place, Jersey City, New Jersey. Stockholders: Owning more than 1 percent of stock: Anne B. Harrison, 3556 Macomb Street, N.W., Washington, D. C.; Old Republic Charitable Foundation, 10 East 40th Street, New York, N. Y.; Gilbert A. Harrison, 3556 Macomb Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. for Eleanor Harrison, Joel Harrison, David Blaine Harrison, and James Louis Harrison.
8. Known Bondholders, Mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None.
9. Not applicable.
- 10.

	Avg. No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Single Issue Nearest to File Date
A. Total No. copies printed (Net Press Run)	136,576	135,892
B. Paid Circulation:		
1. Sales through dealers, and carriers, street ven- dors and counter sales	4,740	4,628
2. Mail Subscriptions	117,175	115,307
C. Total Paid Circulation	121,915	119,935
D. Free Distribution (includ- ing samples) by mail, carrier or other means	1,488	2,778
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	123,403	122,713
F. Office Use, left-over, un- accounted, spoiled after printing issues	13,173	13,179
G. Total (Sum of E & F — should equal net press run shown in A)	136,576	135,892

I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete.

Glenon M. Matthiesen,
Business Manager

Changing address?

In changing address send both
old and new addresses to
SUBSCRIPTION DEPARTMENT
THE NEW REPUBLIC
381 WEST CENTER STREET
MARION, OHIO 43302
Allow three weeks
for change to become effective

PERSONALS

SILENCE TV COMMERCIALS. "Do-it-yourself" instructions 25c; complete kit \$2.00. THE SILENCER, P.O. BOX 106, Berkeley, Cal. 94701.

"BAN THE BOMB SYMBOL" rubber stamp \$2; 3 \$5. Sub-Box 3365, Midway, Washington 98031.

"ESCHEW OBFUSCATION" PLAQUE, 8 1/2" x 4", typographically baroque, \$1.50. Deluxe edition, \$2.50. Wry Idea Company, Box 178-N, Rye, N. Y. 10580.

AUTOMOBILE BUMPER STRIPS. Low-cost advertising for Organizations, Special Events, School Projects, Business, Theatrical Productions, Tourist Attractions, Motels, Resorts, Drive-Ins, Political Campaigns, and Slogans. Write for free brochure, Price List, and Samples. Reflective Advertising, Dept. NR, 873 Longacre, St. Louis, Missouri 63132.

DISENCHANTED EGGHEADS (AGES 21 to 60)! MIND MATES is a serious, specialized dating service catering exclusively to the New York area's vast literate, cultivated, intellectual community. Our purpose: to present you with your peers by means of a unique combination of computerized and personalized matching. Questionnaire, literature: MIND MATES, Bureau for Interpersonal Relations, 509 Fifth Avenue, NYC 10017. MU 2-3757.

This advertisement is not an offer to sell or a solicitation of an offer to buy these securities. The offering is made only by prospectus.

INTEGRATED HOUSING AS AN INVESTMENT

M-REIT  MUTUAL
REAL ESTATE
INVESTMENT TRUST

Objective: to invest in
income-producing real estate
in good neighborhoods
and offer housing to all.

► Free prospectus available to
individuals and institutions

Morris Milgram
Mutual Real Estate Investment Trust
30 East 42 St., New York 10017

Name _____
Address _____
Zip _____

LOT'S O' BULLS from the World's Fair. Send 75c for 5 Decorative Bulls, Postpaid, Shuster's P.O. Box 35, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11236.

"FOUR WILL FORMS" and Lawyer's Guide to Wills. \$1.00 complete. National Forms, Box 48313-NR, Los Angeles, Calif. 90048.

"PROTEST WITH DISTINCTION"; Controversial underground bumper stickers. Free list: Dealers inquire. SNICKER STICKERS, Box 4243, Hollywood, Florida 33023.

"MELINA MERCOURI - IS A GREEK." Three-inch button. Send \$1 today to Amnesty International of the USA, 7203 45th Street, Chevy Chase, Md. 20015.

PSYCHEDELIC LIGHT MACHINE - Assembles in hour with under ten dollars of easily obtainable parts. Send \$1.00 for instructions, drawing, to Carelton Co., 2317 Delancy, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19103.

MEET YOUR IDEAL MATE (Computerized Matching). All Ages. Write: TEAM Project, P. O. Box 359, Church Street, New York, N. Y. 10008.

DO YOU FEEL like joining the OHIM Club? Membership now open. Lifetime membership card with beautiful, gold-plated, hand-polished membership pin. Can be used as tie tack, lapel pin, or dress ornament. Has that fine jewelry look. Nicely boxed conversation piece. Only \$1.00 ppd. Customcraft Creations, P.O. Box 1111, Dept. 77, Providence, R.I. 02901.

TEA DEVOTEES naturally select Grace Rare Teas. Free brochure. Grace Tea Importers, Dept. N9, 79 Wall Street, NYC.

INTERESTED IN CONSTRUCTIVE SELF-EVALUATION? Unconventional approach probes deeply, accurately. Introductory analysis \$1.00, include birth data, name, address. Joan Merrill Harmon, Ps.D., RFD 3, Buzzards Bay, Mass. 02532.

USE INITIATIVE PROCEDURE to legalize abortion and every other victimless activity. LEGALIZE LIBERTY, POB 24282, Los Angeles, 90024.

LITERATURE

MONTHLY NEWSLETTER FOR A GUARANTEED INCOME. Subscription: individual, \$3.00; organizational, \$6.00. Twenty page bibliography available, \$2.00. Write Ad Hoc Committee for a Guaranteed Income, 969 E. 60th Street, Chicago, Illinois 60637.

MANDARIN IN FOUR WEEKS. 28 lessons. \$2.80. Oriental Publication Service, Box 300, Norman, Oklahoma 73069.

BRITISH BOOK BARGAINS - All subjects. Catalogue free. Wants found. Transbooks, Box 44-NR, Matawan, New Jersey.

BECOME AN IDLER reader. The Idler is a witty, informal and liberal monthly that's fun to read. Send \$2 for year's subscription. Money back if you don't enjoy it. 413 6th St. NE, Washington, DC. 20002.

WHO KILLED KENNEDY? A secret is told in silence and certainty in a strangely suppressed 32-page fairytale. \$1.00 - Box 64, Glenville, Connecticut, 06830.

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO: "Freethought, criticism and satire?" Graffiti Magazine is where it's at: \$2 - 6 issues, \$4 - 12 issues plus Johnson-Dylan poster. Dept. R, 88 Bleecker Street, New York City 10012.

TOPICAL HUMOR SERVICE and forty speaker's jokebooks. Catalog free. Samples \$5.00. Orben Publications, Dept. 105, Baldwin, N.Y.

SOCIALIST BOOKS - Literature, catalog, free. New York Labor News, Dept. R, 116 Nassau Street, Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201.

POETRY WANTED for cooperative Anthology. Include stamped envelope. Idlewild Publishers, 543 Frederick, San Francisco, California.

FOREIGN PAPERBACKS. Free lists. BOOKS, P.O. Box 767-N, San Leandro, California 94577.

EMPLOYMENT

OVERSEAS POSITIONS offer high salaries, free travel. Comprehensive new "Guide to Employment Abroad," covers all possibilities. Includes "Directory of American Companies Overseas," and special reports on summer jobs, Government careers overseas, international organizations, medical work, teaching, librarian, secretarial positions, English-language newspapers overseas, social work. Send \$1.00, plus 50¢ postage/handling. Money-back guarantee. Hill International Publications, P.O. Box 79-N, East Islip, N.Y. 11730.

WRITERS - N.Y. publisher wants books on all subjects, fiction, nonfiction. No fee for professional opinion. FREE: Brochures that show how your book can be published, publicized, sold; contracts. Write Dept. 107, EXPOSITION PRESS, INC., 386 Park Avenue So., New York, N.Y. 10016.

VACATIONS/TRAVEL

287 EUROPEAN HOTELS, 167 cities, 24 countries. Excellent, inexpensive. Prices, addresses. \$1.00. Voyager, Ltd., Box 24684NR, Los Angeles, California 90024.

MEXICO. Unusual, nontourist, economical vacations. 10-30 day trips. Yucatan specialists. Write airmail: Apartado 324, Merida, Yucatan, Mexico.

WORLDWIDE FREIGHTER GUIDE - \$1.25. Rates, schedules 700 passenger carrying freighters. Travel-tips, 40-21JP, Bell, Bayside, N. Y. 11361.

ST. JOHN, VIRGIN ISLANDS vacation home, breathtaking views. Weekly rental. J. Brown, 44 West 94th Street, New York City.

PROPERTY - Sale/Rent

NEIGHBORS INC. HOUSE AND GARDEN TOUR Sunday, October 15th, 2-5 p.m. Pick up maps at 7739 16th Street N.W., Washington, D.C. (half mile south of District Line). Lovely homes, refreshments, fascinating people. October 22nd in case of rain.

MOVING TO CLEVELAND? Learn the advantages of The Shaker Communities - stable, integrated communities in a city where 95% of high school graduates go to college. Less than 20 minutes from University Circle educational-cultural center and from downtown. Fine shopping and recreational areas. Modern homes \$20,000-\$35,000. THE SHAKER COMMUNITIES, 16800 Chagrin Boulevard, Shaker Heights 44120. 216 - 752-5000.

ARTS AND CRAFTS

DEMOCRAT? REPUBLICAN? HARVARD? Yale? Bryn Mawr? Radcliffe? Eloise? Jacqueline? Either party, any university's name, or anyone's first-name in gold-like script on handsome brooch-pin or tie-bar. \$2.00 each. Box 810, New Republic.

ANDEAN SWEATERS - Ski? - Handsome, bulky, hand-knit, hand-spun, 100% wool sweaters - moderately priced. (C.D. Project). Write: ANDEAN, Box 472, Cuenca, Ecuador.

COLLECT ORIGINAL, SIGNED ETCHINGS and lithographs by America's foremost artists, including Altman, Gross, Kleinholz, Doris Lee, from \$10. Free catalog with 47 illustrations. (Mail 25c for handling.) Associated American Artists, Studio 6B, 605 Fifth Avenue, N.Y.C. 10017. Our 34th year.

BOOKPLATES. Free catalog. Many beautiful designs. Address BOOKPLATES, Yellow Springs 3, Ohio.

MUSIC

HARPSICHORDS, CLAVICHORDS by Sperrhake. Dependable, beautiful, moderately priced. Robert S. Taylor, 8720 Garfield Street, Bethesda, Md.

AMERICAN INDIAN MUSIC. LP's. Free catalog. Indian House, Box 472, Taos, N.M. 87571.

SUPERB SOUND QUALITY make Sabathil harpsichords famous, 3911 W 25th, Vancouver, Canada.

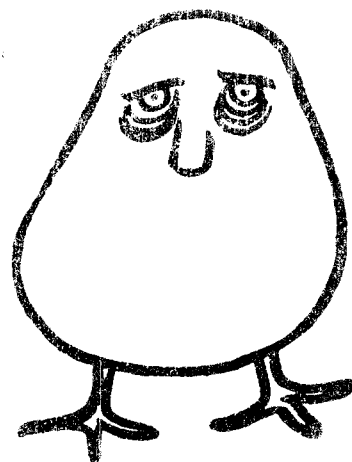
CLASSIFIED RATES

Per word (single insertion)	25c
Per word 6 times in one contract year.....	23c
Per word 12 times in one contract year.....	22c
Per word 24 times in one contract year.....	20c
Per word 48 times in one contract year.....	18c
Payment in Advance of Insertion Required for Less Than 24 Insertions in One Year	

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 Nineteenth Street, N.W.,
Washington, D. C. 20036

Printed by National Publishing Division  7
The McCall Printing Co.

"Aarrggh!"



Above is the verbatim testimonial of a typically confused subscriber who can't tell our journalism from our satire; as a matter of principle there are never any labels in *The Realist* because we prefer readers to dig their own incredibility gap. Below are the highlights of our five most "Aarrggh!" issues; they cost \$1 or they're free with a subscription.

"The Parts That Were Left Out of the Kennedy Book"—the feature that caused the largest number of subscription cancellations in 9 years; plus **"Case History of the Manchester Caper"**—a follow-up on the background and repercussions of that feature.

Cartoons—the offensive ones by pros like Ed Fisher that get rejected by commercial periodicals; and spreads created specifically for *The Realist*—the Disneyland Memorial Orgy, the Junkie Battalion, Ed Sorel's *I've Got Rhythm* movie poster.

"The Cynic Route from Crazy SANE to Loving Haight"—all about cheerleaders at a peace rally; the LSD game; behind the scenes with the Diggers, the Joe Pyne show and the League for Sexual Freedom.

Celebrity Mucking — "An Impolite Interview with Woody Allen"; Steve Allen describes a bizarre dinner with William F. Buckley; "Dick Gregory and His Mississippi Airlift"; Norman Mailer's speech at Berkeley.

"Legal and Actual Concentration Camps in America"—a legacy of the McCarran Act, still ready and waiting—revisited by Charles R. Allen, the man who first broke the story in 1952.

Soft-Core Pornography—the obscene telephone calling service; the homosexual editor of a girlie magazine; in defense of those little comic books that men like.

"Blow-Up, Psychedelic Sexualis and The War Game"—three contemporary films and how they relate

to **Great Moments in Violence**, from Tompkins Sq. Park to LBJ's \$1000-a-plate bash; latterday hedonism, from hippyland to the Renaissance Pleasure Faire; and infamous personalities, from Mort Sahl to Herman Kahn.

Old Fashioned Expose's—The President's ranch holdings; Hell's Angels as patriots; secret budget for CIA expenditures; Marvin Kitman's advice to the veteran-lorn; the sex life of J. Edgar Hoover; the future of flag-burning; Who Killed Adlai Stevenson?

Sacrilegious Dept.—The Americanization of Zen; The Devil's Visit to New York; Little Orphan Annie's campaign against Mental Health.

Inside Reports—from Hanoi, the Dominican Republic and the final Bratwurst Festival in Sheboygan, Wisconsin.

The Realist, Dept. NR
595 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10012

Enclosed please find:

- ☐ \$1 for the five most "Aarrggh!" issues as described
- ☐ \$3 for a 10-issue subscription plus those 5 issues free
- ☐ \$5 for a 20-issue subscription plus those 5 issues free

Name

Address

City State Zip